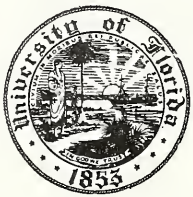
CHATINO SYNTAX

408.2
S955
no.12
c.2

UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES



CHATINO SYNTAX

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS PUBLICATIONS
IN
LINGUISTICS AND RELATED FIELDS

PUBLICATION NUMBER 12

EDITOR
Benjamin F. Elson

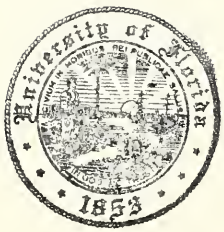
EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
Kenneth L. Pike Robert E. Longacre
Viola Waterhouse

CHATINO SYNTAX

KITTY PRIDE

A Publication of the
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

Norman



© Summer Institute of Linguistics 1965

junio, 1965 primera edición

Esta edición consta de 1,000 ejemplares

Derechos Reservados

por el

Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A. C.
Hidalgo 166, México 22, D.F.

Impreso en México Printed in Mexico
1M205 5-011

Author's Preface

Data for this work have been gathered during field work under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics from 1960 to 1962. The tagmemic model of Kenneth L. Pike[1] in conjunction with the practical guide to string constituent analysis developed by Robert E. Longacre[2] have been adopted to describe the syntax of Yaitepec Chatino. I am indebted to Robert E. Longacre for his counsel and direction during a linguistic workshop held at Itzmiquilpan, Hidalgo, in the spring of 1962 when most of this work was undertaken. I also profited from discussing various problems with Viola Waterhouse and Barbara Erickson at that time, and from all the practical help given by my husband Leslie Pride.

Kitty Pride

Mexico City
December, 1963

[1] Pike, 1954, 1955, 1960.
[2] Longacre, 1960.

Table of Contents

0. Introduction 9

1. Word Classification 12

2. Phrase Types 29

3. Phrase-Level Tagmemes 52

4. Clause Types 73

5. Clause-Level Tagmemes 93

6. Colon Types 105

7. Colon-Level Tagmemes 128

8. Sentence Types 144

9. Sentence-Level Tagmemes 178

10. Analysed Text 208

Appendices 239

Bibliography 249

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

http://www.archive.org/details/chatinosyntax00prid

0. Introduction

Chatino is spoken by an Indian tribe of more than 20,000 people living in the southwest of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. There are at least three distinct and mutually unintelligible dialects with centres in the towns of Yaitepec, Taltaltepec, and Zenzontepec. This work deals with the Yaitepec dialect, and the phonemes have been analysed as follows:

Consonants

Stops	p	b			t	d	k	g
Fricatives		w			s	š		h
Nasals		m				n		
Liquids					r	l	y	

Vowels

Oral	i	e	a	o	u
Nasal	į	ę		ǫ	ų

Tones

Registers	1	2	3	4
Glides	12	23	34	
	21	32	43	

Tone is only significant on word-final syllables and thus only the final syllable of a word has tone marked in this work.[3]

While five distinct grammatical levels are posited in Chatino—the word, the phrase, the clause, the colon, and the sentence levels—only the last four fall within the scope

[3] Pride L., 1963, p. 19. Further investigation of the suprasegmental features has been undertaken recently which will probably present an alternative solution involving the relationship between stress, tone, and vowel length. Further investigation of the tone perturbation system is being undertaken.

of this description; the internal structure of the word is not described in this work, but only the word classification. Words may manifest the tagmemes of types in any higher level, but primarily are constituent parts of phrases. There are both major and minor words; major words may occur in isolation, but minor words are monosyllabic and occur only in expanded phrases, clauses, or sentences, where they never carry the phrase or sentence stress, but only minor word stress. A phrase consists of one or more major words which may be potentially expandable by the addition of major and/or minor words. The Chatino phrase may be defined as the sum of the phrase types described in 2. The clause is a unit of speech with predication and may be defined as the sum of the clause types described in 4. The colon is an independent unit of speech consisting of two or more clauses which are combined without employing conjunctions. The colon may be defined as the sum of the colon types described in 6. The sentence is an independent unit of speech with or without predication which in its minimum form may consist of one major word, and may be defined as the sum of the sentence types described in 8.

The major versus minor distinction occurs at the word, phrase, clause, and sentence levels. At each of these levels constituent tagmemes may be classed as either nuclear or peripheral. Nuclear tagmemes characterise a particular type, whereas peripheral tagmemes are common to more than one type on any level. The symbols and names of construction types and classes are listed in Appendix A.

The chapter describing the types on a given level is followed by a chapter describing each tagmeme at that level in detail. Linear order of tagmemes is significant in the formulae below since change in the order is meaningful.

In the formulaic presentation of construction types nuclear tagmemes are in parentheses and peripheral tagmemes are not. In the noun and predicate phrases (class P_0 and P_{20}) peripheral tagmemes occur both preceding and

following the nucleus; they are referred to as the pre-periphery and the post-periphery. Tagmemes manifested by major words have symbols beginning with capital letters and tagmemes manifested by minor words have symbols beginning with letters in the lower case. Tagmeme symbols and names are listed alphabetically in Appendix B. Subscript numbers on tagmeme symbols indicate allotagmas in subtypes. Subscript numbers on construction types, however, refer to contrastive types within a class, and subtypes are shown by decimals on the subscript. Suprascript numbers on tagmeme symbols indicate the number of times the tagmeme may be repeated in a given example of that construction type. The symbols $\pm$, +, -, and / have also been used in the formulae; $\pm$ signifies optional, + signifies obligatory, - signifies absence, / signifies either/or. These symbols are used mathematically to refer to the tagmeme following.

The formula for each type is preceded by a description of the characteristics of that particular type and followed by a description in words of the formula. After the initial description a nuclear tagmeme is just referred to by name if it occurs in another type and peripheral tagmemes are referred to in general as periphery.

Examples of types used in this work are presented with the appropriate formula for the type being illustrated; the Chatino words are given with the literal translation immediately below each word and the appropriate tagmeme symbol below the expression to which it refers, with a free translation below that. Where a tagmeme is manifested by an included type, this manifestation of the tagmeme is enclosed within brackets and its constituent tagmemes are indicated. Examples of specific tagmemes are presented with the appropriate tagmeme symbol followed by a colon and the symbol for the specific type illustrated as manifesting that tagmeme; the Chatino words are followed by the literal translation which, if necessary, is followed by a free translation in parentheses.

1. Word Classification

Grammatical words are coterminus with phonological words in most situations.[4] Two criteria have been employed in classification:[5] external distribution and internal structure. The former is considered primary and gives rise to classes and subclasses, the latter to types within these classes or subclasses where the two divisions do not coincide. There are four word hyperclasses of which three comprise major words: noun hyperclass W_0, particle hyperclass W_{10}, verb hyperclass W_{20}, and minor word hyperclass W_{00}.

1.1. There are four classes of nouns in the noun word hyperclass W_0.

1.1.1. W_1, the common noun class, has five subclasses: $W_{1\cdot1}$ general subclass, $W_{1\cdot2}$ possessed subclass, $W_{1\cdot3}$ unpossessed subclass, $W_{1\cdot4}$ locative subclass, $W_{1\cdot5}$ classified common subclass.

$W_{1\cdot1}$ comprises common nouns which may or may not be possessed and has two types: $W_{1\cdot1\cdot1}$ simple general type, $W_{1\cdot1\cdot2}$ multiple general type. Nouns of subclass $W_{1\cdot1}$ may manifest the head tagmeme of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), of the quality noun phrase (P_2), or of the possessive noun phrase II (P_4); or the owner tagmeme of the possessive noun phrase I (P_3), or the possessor tagmeme of the possessive noun phrase II (P_4). Certain members of this subclass may manifest the quality tagmeme of the quality noun phrase

[4] See Appendix C.

[5] A minute description of sub-subclasses demanded by the classificatory criteria employed has not been attempted, but rather the main word class divisions are cited. This note particularly applies to the noun and verb hyperclasses W_0 and W_{20} respectively.

(P_2) or the specifier tagmeme of the addressee noun phrase (P_5).

$W_{1\cdot1\cdot1}$ includes nouns comprising a single morpheme which is a single phonological word such as hu?wa^{34} 'banana', wta^{34} 'cow', hyo^{12} 'cornfield'.

$W_{1\cdot1\cdot2}$ includes common nouns which are grammatical words but phonological phrases derived from polysyllabic loan words such as siyetu^{4} 'hundred' from Spanish ciento, lapi^{3} 'pencil' from Spanish lápiz, kaswela^{4} 'casserole dish' from Spanish cazuela.

$W_{1\cdot2}$ comprises possessed nouns and has two types: $W_{1\cdot2\cdot1}$ obligatorily possessed type, $W_{1\cdot2\cdot2}$ innately possessed type. Nouns of subclass $W_{1\cdot2}$ may manifest the head tagmemes of the attributive noun phrase (P_1) or the possessive noun phrase I (P_3). Certain members of this subclass also manifest the quality tagmeme of the quality noun phrase (P_2).

$W_{1\cdot2\cdot1}$ includes obligatorily possessed nouns marked by the morpheme s- possessed, such as ško?^{2} 'blouse-of, shirt-of' from yko?^{2} 'blouse, shirt'; ste?^{32} 'clothes-of' from te?^{34} 'cloth'; ška^{3} 'wood-of' from yka^{3} 'wood, tree'; sno^{3} 'sandal-of' from kino^{3} 'sandal'; styi^{2} 'feather-of' from kityi^{2} 'feather'; sto?^{2} 'fingernail-of, branch-of' from kito?^{2} 'fingernail, claw'.

$W_{1\cdot2\cdot2}$ includes innately possessed nouns such as body parts, meals, and relatives other than those designated by terms borrowed from Spanish: yo?^{32} 'hand-my', kye^{32} 'head-your/his/her/its', tlya^{32} 'dinner-your/his/her/its', sti^{1} 'father-my', ta?a^{23} 'relative-your/his/her', sku^{23} 'upper arm-your/his/her'.

$W_{1\cdot3}$ is a limited subclass of nouns which may not be possessed, such as kutša^{2} 'sun', kwi?i^{3} 'wind, spirit'. Nouns of subclass $W_{1\cdot3}$ may manifest the head tagmeme of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), the quality head or quality tagmemes of the quality noun phrase (P_2), or the owner tagmeme of the possessive noun phrase I (P_3).

$W_{1.4}$ is a limited subclass of nouns which may be marked by the infix -y- 'inside', such as nyo?o[1] 'inside-house' from no?o[3] 'house'; lyo?o[32] 'inside-corral' from lo?o[2] 'corral'; lya[3] 'inside-church' from la[2] 'church'. Nouns of subclass $W_{1.4}$ may manifest the location clause level tagmeme, or the head tagmemes of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), the quality noun phrase (P_2), and the possessive noun phrase II (P_4). When marked by the infix -y- 'inside', $W_{1.4}$ manifests the concomitant tagmeme of the relational phrase (P_{11}).

$W_{1.5}$ includes common nouns denoting certain fauna such as ntši[32] 'praying mantis', kinyi[2] 'little-bird', tya[1] 'squirrel'. Nouns of subclass $W_{1.5}$ manifest the nominal $head_2$ allotagma in the classifier minor phrase (p_{02}).

1.1.2. W_2, the proper noun class, has four subclasses: $W_{2.1}$ personal name subclass, $W_{2.2}$ vocative term subclass, $W_{2.3}$ expandable vocatives subclass, and $W_{2.4}$ place name subclass.

$W_{2.1}$ includes all names of people, such as šuwa[4] 'Juan', ndiyu[32] 'Antonio', mo[3] 'Máximo', sali[2] 'Marcelina', hwele[3] 'Félix'. Nouns of subclass $W_{2.1}$ may manifest the head tagmeme of the attributive noun phrase (P_1) or the quality phrase (P_2), the subject addressed tagmeme, the vocative address tagmeme of the address sentence (S_{31}), the owner tagmeme of the possessive noun phrase I (P_3), or the possessor tagmeme of the possessive noun phrase II (P_4).

$W_{2.2}$ is a limited subclass of vocative terms used only in conversation such as ti[32] 'small-boy' used by members of the consanguineal group, nyu[32] 'Dear' used within the consanguineal group and with small children, bi[3] 'You-emphatic' with no restrictions regarding the one addressed. Nouns of subclass $W_{2.2}$ may manifest the subject addressed tagmeme and the vocative address tagmeme of the address sentence (S_{31}).

$W_{2.3}$ is a limited class of expandable vocative terms

such as tše^{32} 'Friend', used between men, škwe^{2} 'Friend', used between men reciprocally with tše^{32}, ta^{32} 'Daddy'. Nouns of the subclass $W_{2}\cdot_{3}$ may manifest the addressee tagmeme in the addressee noun phrase (P_5).

$W_{2}\cdot_{4}$ includes all names of places such as sku?we^{2} 'Juquila', tšehya?^{1} 'Mexico City', la^{3} kwiyu?^{4} 'Puebla', lo^{3} nda?a^{4} 'Oaxaca City'. Nouns of subclass $W_{2}\cdot_{4}$ may manifest the location tagmeme in the clause periphery, or the goal or reference nuclear clause-level tagmemes.

1.1.3. W_3, the temporal noun class, has two subclasses: $W_{3}\cdot_{1}$ general temporal subclass, $W_{3}\cdot_{2}$ subordinator temporal subclass, and any temporal noun may manifest the time tagmeme in the periphery of the clause types, or the head tagmeme of the limited minor phrase (p_{03}). The nouns in this class may not be possessed.

$W_{3}\cdot_{1}$ comprises general temporal nouns and has two types: $W_{3}\cdot_{1}\cdot_{1}$ simple temporal type, $W_{3}\cdot_{1}\cdot_{2}$ multiple temporal type. Nouns of subclass $W_{3}\cdot_{1}$ may manifest the head tagmeme of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), the quality tagmeme of the quality noun phrase (P_2), the completor tagmeme of the prepositionally directed phrase (P_{12}), the specification or head tagmemes of the temporal phrase (P_{31}), or the adverbial peripheral tagmeme of the predicate phrase (P_{20}). Two members only of $W_{3}\cdot_{1}$ may manifest the determinator tagmeme of the calendar phrase (P_{32}).

$W_{3}\cdot_{1}\cdot_{1}$ includes temporal nouns comprising single phonological words such as tsǫ^{23} 'day', ni^{2} 'now', ko?^{12} 'month', kya^{43} 'tomorrow'.

$W_{3}\cdot_{1}\cdot_{2}$ includes temporal nouns which are syntactic words but phonological phrases such as ndisiyembre^{4} 'December' from Spanish diciembre, tomiku^{4} 'Sunday' from Spanish domingo.

$W_{3}\cdot_{2}$ is a limited subclass of temporal nouns which includes bra^{34} 'hour' and ša^{2} 'light/brightness'. Nouns of subclass $W_{3}\cdot_{2}$ may manifest the subordinator tagmeme in the

temporal subordinate clause (C_{31}), the head tagmeme of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), the completor tagmeme of the prepositionally directed phrase (P_{12}), or the specification tagmeme of the temporal phrase (P_{31}).

1.1.4. W_4, the pronoun class, has three subclasses: $W_{4\cdot1}$ subject subclass, $W_{4\cdot2}$ goal subclass, $W_{4\cdot3}$ demonstrative subclass.

$W_{4\cdot1}$ includes all independent subject pronouns such as nu?wi̱^{32} 'you-singular-familiar' and no̱?^{2} 'I'. Nouns of subclass $W_{4\cdot1}$ may manifest the subject, complement, equational subject, and speaker clause-level tagmemes, or the owner tagmeme of the possessive noun phrase I (P_3).

$W_{4\cdot2}$ includes all pronouns indicating goal such as ?yo̱^{21} 'to-me', ?wo̱^{3} 'to-you-pl./respectful', ?i̱^{3} 'to-you/him/her/it/them' (hereafter translated 'pronoun').[6] Nouns of subclass $W_{4\cdot2}$ may manifest the indirect object, goal, equational goal, and reference clause-level tagmemes, and the possessor tagmeme of noun phrase P_4.

$W_{4\cdot3}$ is a limited subclass of demonstratives which includes nde^{3} 'here', kwa^{3} 'there', ko̱?^{2} 'that-particular-emphatic'. Nouns of subclass $W_{4\cdot3}$ may manifest the head or demonstration tagmemes of attributive noun phrase (P_1), or the head tagmemes of the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}), the qualifier minor phrase (p_{01}), and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

1.2. There are four classes of particles in the particle word hyperclass W_{10}.

1.2.1. W_{11}, the descriptive particle class, has nine subclasses: $W_{11\cdot1}$ quantifier subclass, $W_{11\cdot2}$ attributive

[6] Since the tone perturbation system is as yet unsolved, this poses the problem of whether there are just two morphemes ?i̱^{1} 'to' and ?i̱^{2} ~ ?i̱^{3} 'pronoun' or three separate morphemes including two pronouns.

subclass, $W_{11\cdot3}$ characteristic subclass, $W_{11\cdot4}$ state subclass, $W_{11\cdot5}$ colour subclass, $W_{11\cdot6}$ adjective subclass, $W_{11\cdot7}$ modifier subclass, $W_{11\cdot8}$ adverb subclass, and $W_{11\cdot9}$ manner subclass. Any descriptive particle may manifest the head tagmeme in the comparison minor phrase (p_{01}).

$W_{11\cdot1}$ is a limited subclass of quantifiers which includes ndšga^{3} 'all, every', škwi?^{1} 'all, the whole, altogether', l?we^{2} 'half'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot1}$ may manifest the quantity tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the noun phrase class (P_0).

$W_{11\cdot2}$ is a limited subclass of attributives which includes štlya^{34} 'Spanish', t?no^{2} 'poor', kuliya?^{32} 'rich'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot2}$ may manifest the attribution tagmeme in the post-periphery of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), the adverbial tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), or the head tagmemes in the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}) and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

$W_{11\cdot3}$ is a limited subclass of descriptives to do with character which includes tsu?we^{32} 'good', še?o^{34} 'wicked'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot3}$ may manifest the character tagmeme of the post-periphery of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), the adverbial tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), or the head tagmemes in the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}) and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

$W_{11\cdot4}$ is a limited subclass of descriptives to do with status, which includes kune?^{1} 'young', kula^{3} 'old'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot4}$ may manifest the status tagmeme in the post-periphery of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), or the head tagmemes in the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}) and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

$W_{11\cdot5}$ is a limited class of descriptives including all colours such as nga?a^{1} 'red', nga?a^{23} 'green', kwa^{2} 'mauve'. Particles of the $W_{11\cdot5}$ subclass may manifest the colouration tagmeme in the post-periphery of the attributive

noun phrase (P_1), or the head tagmemes in the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}) and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

$W_{11\cdot6}$ is a limited class of adjectives which includes lyu?^{1} 'lesser', tnu^3 'huge/great', tlyu^3 'big'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot6}$ may manifest the adjectival tagmeme in the post-periphery of the attributive noun phrase (P_1), the adverbial tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), or the head tagmemes in the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}) and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

$W_{11\cdot7}$ is a limited class of modifiers which includes tš̲i?^{1} 'a-little', lya^1 'immediately/hurrying'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot7}$ may manifest the manner clause-level tagmeme, or the modification tagmeme in the post-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), or the head tagmeme of the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

$W_{11\cdot8}$ is a limited class of adverbs which includes lye^{32} 'much', kwę^2 'loudly', kwinyi^3 'fertile'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot8}$ may manifest the manner clause-level tagmeme, or both the adverbial and modification tagmemes in the periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), or the head tagmeme in the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}).

$W_{11\cdot9}$ is a limited class of descriptives which includes ngutsu?^{34} 'muddy', tlyi^{32} 'slippery', tlya?^{2} 'cold'. Particles of subclass $W_{11\cdot9}$ may manifest the manner clause-level tagmeme, or the adverbial tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), or the head tagmemes in the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}) and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

1.2.2. W_{12}, the numerical particle class, has five subclasses: $W_{12\cdot1}$ base numeral subclass, $W_{12\cdot2}$ empiric prime subclass, $W_{12\cdot3}$ addition numeral subclass, $W_{12\cdot4}$ allotive numeral subclass, $W_{12\cdot5}$ derived numeral subclass. All numerical particles except $W_{12\cdot5}$ may manifest the number tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the noun phrase class (P_0).

$W_{12\cdot1}$ is a limited subclass of base numerals which com-

prises ti^{1} 'ten', ti?yu^{1} 'fifteen', kala^{4} 'twenty', tu?wa^{1} 'forty'. Particles of subclass $W_{12 \cdot 1}$ may manifest the specifying number tagmeme of the calendar phrase (P_{32}), the numeric tagmeme in the numerical phrase (P_{33}), the head tagmeme of the limited minor phrase (p_{03}), or the reference number$_1$ allotagma and the subject number$_2$ allotagma in the number referential minor clause (c_{04}).

$W_{12 \cdot 2}$ is a limited subclass of primes which comprises the numerals ska^{3} 'one', tukwa^{1} 'two', snǫ^{2} 'three', hakwa^{3} 'four', ka?yu^{1} 'five', skwa^{1} 'six', kati^{1} 'seven', snu?^{2} 'eight', ka^{32} 'nine'. Particles of this subclass manifest the specifying number tagmeme of the calendar phrase (P_{32}), head tagmeme of the limited minor phrase (p_{03}), or the subject number tagmeme in the number referential minor clause (c_{04}).

$W_{12 \cdot 3}$, the addition numeral subclass, is parallel to certain numerals from subclasses $W_{12 \cdot 1}$ and $W_{12 \cdot 2}$, but each word is composed of two morphemes, i.e., the numeral with an infix of palatalisation meaning 'another'. This subclass comprises ška^{1} 'another-one', tyukwa^{1} 'another-two', šnǫ^{1} 'another-three', tyhakwa^{1} 'another-four',[7] and tyi^{1} 'another-ten'. Particles of subclass $W_{12 \cdot 3}$ may manifest the addition tagmeme in the numerical phrase (P_{33}), or the subject tagmeme in the basic clause types (C_0).

$W_{12 \cdot 4}$, the allotive numeral subclass, consists of numerals which are parallel to all numerals in subclasses $W_{12 \cdot 1}$ and $W_{12 \cdot 2}$ which are not parallel to those of subclass $W_{12 \cdot 3}$ and comprises ti?yu^{1} 'another-five', škwa^{1} 'another-six', kiti^{1} 'another-seven', šnu?^{1} 'another-eight', tyka^{1} 'another-nine', kila^{1} 'another-twenty', tyu?wa^{1} 'another-forty'. Particles of subclass $W_{12 \cdot 4}$ may manifest only the subject tagmeme in the basic clause types (C_0).

$W_{12 \cdot 5}$ is a limited subclass of nouns derived from verbs of class W_{23} and includes kulo^{23} 'first, beginning' and tyi

[7] An alternative form lkwa^{1} 'another-four' occurs as the addition tagmeme in P_{33}.

'ending'. Numerals of subclass $W_{12 \cdot 5}$ manifest the specifying number tagmeme in the calendar phrase (P_{32}).

1.2.3. W_{13}, the temporal particle class, has no subclasses, but two types: $W_{13 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$ monomorphemic type, $W_{13 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$ complex type. Temporal particles may manifest the time tagmeme in the periphery of the clause types, the head tagmemes of the temporal phrase (P_{31}), the comparison minor phrase (p_{01}), or the adverbial tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}). Certain particles of class W_{13} may also manifest the head tagmemes of the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}) and the limited minor phrase (p_{03}), or the completor tagmeme of the prepositionally directed phrase (P_{12}).

$W_{13 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$ is a type of simple temporal particle including ndse^{3} 'quickly', ya?^{1} 'time/yet', šiʔi^{2} 'little-while'.

$W_{13 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$ is a type of complex temporal particle which may be marked by the infix -y- 'another', and includes šʔni^{1} 'another-long-time' from sʔni^{2} 'long-time/distance', šiya?^{1} 'another-once' (again) from siya?^{1} 'once'.

1.2.4. W_{14}, the relator particle class, has four subclasses: $W_{14 \cdot 1}$ independent preposition subclass, $W_{14 \cdot 2}$ conjunction subclass, $W_{14 \cdot 3}$ referent subclass, $W_{14 \cdot 4}$ relative-interrogative subclass.

$W_{14 \cdot 1}$ is a limited subclass of prepositions which includes ni?^{2} 'inside', ?i̱^{1} 'to', lo^{3} 'on, in', lo?o^{1} 'with'. Particles from subclass $W_{14 \cdot 1}$ may manifest the relator tagmeme of the relational phrase P_{11}. One member (?i̱^{1} 'to') may manifest the possession indicator tagmeme of possessive noun phrase II (P_{4}), another (lo^{3} 'on, in') may manifest the calendar relational tagmeme of the calendar phrase (P_{32}), and another (lo?o^{1} 'with') may manifest the balance hinge sentence-level tagmeme.

$W_{14 \cdot 2}$ is a limited subclass of conjunctions which includes lo^{2} 'and', si^{1} 'if', si?ya^{1} 'because/since', tša?^{2}

'in-order-that/to-the-effect-that'. Particles of subclass $W_{14\cdot2}$ manifest the hinge tagmemes of the hinge sentence class (S_{10}).

$W_{14\cdot3}$ is a limited subclass of referents which includes ta^3 'or-interrogative', kǫ?^{2} 'that's-the-one'.[8] Particles of subclass $W_{14\cdot3}$ manifest the referent tagmemes of the symbiotic sentence class (S_{20}).

$W_{14\cdot4}$ is a limited subclass of relative-interrogatives which includes ni^3 'what', ti^3 'who', la^3 'where (direction)', lo^3 'where?' Relators of subclass $W_{14\cdot4}$ may manifest the head tagmeme of the interrogative phrase (P_{34}) and the introducer tagmeme of the relative minor sentence (s_{01}), while ni^3 'what' and ti^3 'who' may manifest also the interrogation sentence-level tagmeme.

1.3. There are eight classes in the verb word hyperclass W_{20}. Any verb from hyperclass W_{20} except those in subclass $W_{22\cdot3}$ or classes W_{26}, W_{27}, or W_{28} may manifest the predicate head tagmeme of the simple predicate phrase (P_{21}). Of these eight classes W_{21}, W_{22}, and W_{23} all comprise verbs which have both basic and directed forms.[9] The directed form (dir.) may take an infix -y- 'attention-directed-towards-following-goal' which occurs in the root of the verb and may or may not be accompanied by other changes in the verb stem. Examples in hyperclass W_{20} are cited without indication of tone—the verb stem tones indicate person.

1.3.1. W_{21}, the referential verb class, has a limited

[8] The word kǫ?^{2} 'that-particular-emphatic' occurs in $W_{4\cdot3}$ where it functions like the other demonstrative pronouns in that subclass. Such dual classification appears to give the simplest solution. See also footnote 10.

[9] Further investigation may show a third form of many verbs parallel to the basic and directed forms, i.e., the same root but with a separate set of aspect prefixes as kusta 'will-break, basic', šta 'will-be-broken/will-be-caused-to-break, dir.', kita 'will-break, parallel form — perhaps to do with locations of the speaker and actor'.

membership with no subclasses, but two types: $W_{21\cdot0\cdot1}$ differentiated referential type, $W_{21\cdot0\cdot2}$ undifferentiated referential type. All verbs in class W_{21} have the general meaning of 'to-be' and manifest the head tagmemes of the simple predicate phrase (P_{21}) and the affirmation predicate phrase (P_{23}) in both basic and directed forms, or the qualification$_2$ allotagma in the qualified predicate phrase ($P_{22\cdot2}$) in the basic form and intentive aspect. Certain members of this class also manifest the head tagmeme of the auxiliary predicate phrase (P_{26}).

$W_{21\cdot0\cdot1}$ includes the basic forms ndukwi 'is-up', ndi?i 'is (living)', ndukwa 'is-on', ngo?o 'is-on (adjoining)', nde?e 'is (staying)', with parallel directed forms ndyukwi 'is-up,dir.', ndyi?i 'is-living,dir.', ndyukwa 'is-on, dir.', ndi?o 'is-adjoining,dir.', ndye?e 'is-staying,dir.'

$W_{21\cdot0\cdot2}$ includes the form ndiya 'is-there (belonging)' which does not have a parallel directed form.

1.3.2. W_{22}, the equational verb class, has a very limited membership and three subclasses: $W_{22\cdot1}$ permanent equational subclass, $W_{22\cdot2}$ temporary equational subclass, $W_{22\cdot3}$ quasi-equational subclass.

$W_{22\cdot1}$ consists of the equational verb lka 'actually-is' which manifests the head tagmemes of the simple predicate phrase (P_{21}), the qualified predicate phrase (P_{22}), the affirmation predicate phrase (P_{23}), and the auxiliary predicate phrase (P_{26}).

$W_{22\cdot2}$ includes nsu?wi 'there-is' and nyo?o 'looking, dir.' Verbs of subclass $W_{22\cdot2}$ manifest the head tagmemes of the simple predicate phrase (P_{21}), the affirmation predicate phrase (P_{23}), and the auxiliary predicate phrase (P_{26}). The form nsu?wi 'there-is' manifests also the head tagmeme of the emotional predicate phrase (P_{24}).

$W_{22\cdot3}$ consists of no 'name'. (is-named) which is not

expandable to form a phrase and manifests only the equation clause-level tagmeme.[10]

1.3.3. W_{23}, the active verb class, has no subclasses, but three types: $W_{23\cdot0\cdot1}$ unchanging aspect type, $W_{23\cdot0\cdot2}$ changing aspect type, $W_{23\cdot0\cdot3}$ different aspect type. All verbs in class W_{23} manifest the predicate head tagmeme of the simple predicate phrase (P_{21}) in both basic and directed forms. Certain verbs from this class may manifest the affirmed predicate head, head to the auxiliar, and qualified predicate head tagmemes from phrase types of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}).

$W_{23\cdot0\cdot1}$ includes active verbs which take the same set of aspect prefixes in both the basic and directed forms. This subclass includes basic forms such as ndihi̱ 'passing/crossing', ndo?o 'emerging', ndu̱ 'standing', nskwa 'lying down', nsno̱ 'running', nstya 'putting-in-a-place', nskwe̱ 'climbing', and their parallel directed forms ndyihi̱ 'crossing-over,dir.', ndyo?o 'emerging,dir.', ndyu̱ 'standing,dir.', nškwa 'lying-down,dir.', nšno̱ 'running, dir.', nštya 'putting-somewhere,dir.', nškwe̱ 'climbing, dir.'

$W_{23\cdot0\cdot2}$ includes active verbs which take the same continuative and completive aspect prefixes in both basic and directed forms, but the intentive aspect prefix used with the basic form is omitted with the directed form. This subclass includes basic forms such as kuta 'will-give', kusi?ya 'will-shout/call', kusula 'will-open', kusu?we 'will-divide', kusulu 'will-throw-away', and their parallel directed forms tya 'will-give,dir.' (will pay), ši?ya 'will-shout,dir.' (caused to shout), šula 'will-open,dir.', šu?we 'will-divide,dir.', šulu 'will-throw-away,dir.'

$W_{23\cdot0\cdot3}$ includes active verbs which take a different set

[10] The word no̱[2] 'name, thing' occurs in $W_{1\cdot1\cdot1}$ where it acts in all respects like any other simple general noun.

of aspect prefixes with the basic form from that used with the directed form. This subclass includes basic forms such as lati 'ending', laha? 'sleeping', ntsa? 'getting wet', and their parallel directed forms ndyi 'ending,dir.' (finishing), ndyha? 'sleeping,dir.' (caused to sleep), ntš̌a? 'wetting,dir.' (being wetted).

1.3.4. W_{24}, the reflexive verb class, has a limited membership with no subclasses, but two types: $W_{24\cdot0\cdot1}$ undifferentiated type, $W_{24\cdot0\cdot2}$ differentiated type. All verbs in class W_{24} may manifest the head tagmemes of the simple predicate phrase (P_{21}) and the affirmation predicate phrase (P_{23}). Certain members of this class also manifest the head of the auxiliary predicate phrase (P_{26}).

$W_{24\cdot0\cdot1}$ includes reflexive verbs which are undifferentiated as to basic and directed forms such as ngitę́ 'washing/cleaning', ndy?ó̱ 'laundering/washing', ndš̌ku 'eating'.

$W_{24\cdot0\cdot2}$ includes reflexive verbs which have both basic and directed forms such as nsi?i 'buying', ndukú̱ 'closing, shutting' and their parallel directed forms nš̌i?i 'buying, dir.', ndyukú̱ 'shutting,dir.'

1.3.5. W_{25}, the auxiliary verb class, overlaps the preceding verb classes W_{21}, W_{22}, and W_{23} in that all auxiliary verbs occur also in one of those classes. Verbs of class W_{25} manifest the auxiliar tagmeme of the auxiliary predicate phrase (P_{26}) and may occur in any aspect. There are three types in class W_{25}: $W_{25\cdot0\cdot1}$ auxiliary referential type, $W_{25\cdot0\cdot2}$ auxiliary equational type, $W_{25\cdot0\cdot3}$ auxiliary active type.

$W_{25\cdot0\cdot1}$ includes referential verbs which may occur as auxiliaries such as ndiya 'is-there', ngó̱?ó̱ 'is-on/staying', ndukwa 'is-on'. As auxiliaries, verbs of subclass $W_{25\cdot0\cdot1}$ are usually in the basic form.

$W_{25\cdot0\cdot2}$ comprises an equational verb which occurs as

an auxiliary only in the directed form, i.e., ndška 'is-being,dir.' (is able, is caused to be).

$W_{25\cdot0\cdot3}$ includes active verbs which may occur as auxiliaries, such as nsnǫ 'running', ndiyǫ 'returning', ngiya 'going', nšo? 'collecting,dir?', nsula 'opening', nsu?wa 'putting', nginę 'sounding', ndyi 'finishing,dir.' As auxiliaries, verbs of subclass $W_{25\cdot0\cdot3}$ occur in either the basic form or the directed form.

1.3.6. W_{26}, the quotational verb class, is limited to two members only yhwi 'said' and ?ni 'did/made' which occur only in the cited form. Verbs of class W_{26} manifest only the quotation mark tagmeme in the speech symbiotic clause (C_{21}).

1.3.7. W_{27}, the emotional head verb class, is composed of verbs derived from certain nouns, verbs, and particles from classes $W_{1\cdot4}$, $W_{1\cdot5}$, W_{11}, W_{21}, W_{22}, or W_{23}. They are verbalised by occurrence with the minor word ti?[32] 'emotional verbaliser' from subclass $W_{03\cdot2}$ to form predicate phrases chiefly indicative of feelings and emotions. W_{27} has no subclasses, but 4 types: $W_{27\cdot0\cdot1}$ particle head type, $W_{27\cdot0\cdot2}$ basic type, $W_{27\cdot0\cdot3}$ directed type, $W_{27\cdot0\cdot4}$ differentiated type. Words from class W_{27} all manifest the emotional head tagmeme in the emotional predicate phrase (P_{24}).

$W_{27\cdot0\cdot1}$ includes certain particles and stative verbs which do not take the usual verb aspect markers or the infix -y- 'action-directed-toward-goal' and include tsu?we 'good' (tsu?we ti? 'doing-good-to'), tlyu 'big' (tlyu ti? 'is-brave'), ti?i 'hurt' (ti?i ti? 'grieve').

$W_{27\cdot0\cdot2}$ includes certain verbs and nouns with aspect markers which occur only in the basic form, such as nsnyǫ 'nausea' (snyǫ ti? 'is-nauseated'), ndiya 'is-there' (ndiya ti? 'liking'), nsi 'meaning uncertain' (nsi ti? 'is-angry'), ša 'light' (nša ti? 'waking-up').

$W_{27\cdot0\cdot3}$ includes certain verbs which occur with aspect

markers but only in the directed form, such as ndška 'is, dir.' (ndška ti? 'wanting'), nšu?wa 'putting, dir.' (nšu?wa ti? 'remembering').

$W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 4}$ includes certain verbs with aspect markers which may occur in both basic and directed forms, such as ndiki$_{\underline{i}}$ 'burning' (ndiki$_{\underline{i}}$ ti? 'is-angry'), ndi$_{\underline{i}}$?i$_{\underline{i}}$ 'is-there/living' (ndi$_{\underline{i}}$?i$_{\underline{i}}$ ti? 'feeling'), nskye? 'meaning uncertain' (nskye? ti? 'thinking').

1.3.8. W_{28}, the stative verb class, has a very limited membership and no subclasses. The verbs in this class do not take aspect markers and include si?i 'is-not', su 'lying', ti?i 'hurting'. Verbs of class W_{28} manifest the head tagmeme of the stative predicate phrase (P_{25}).

1.4. There are four classes in the minor word hyperclass w_{00}, each of which has a limited membership.

1.4.1. w_{01}, the augmentative class of minor words, has two subclasses: $w_{01 \cdot 1}$ intensifier augmentative subclass, $w_{01 \cdot 2}$ comparison augmentative subclass.

$w_{01 \cdot 1}$ is a limited subclass of intensifying augmentative minor words and includes[11] sa?a^1 ~ ?a^1 'very much' and la^3 ~ ?a^3 'more'. The minor words of subclass $w_{01 \cdot 1}$ manifest the degree tagmeme in the post-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), or the augmentation tagmeme in the negative minor phrase (p_{04}).

$w_{01 \cdot 2}$ is a limited subclass of augmentatives showing comparison and includes la^2 'comparative' and ti^3 'superlative'. The minor words of subclass $w_{01 \cdot 2}$ manifest the comparative and superlative tagmemes respectively of the comparison minor phrase (p_{01}).

[11] The fluctuation of the minor words sa?a^1 ~ ?a^1 'much/very' is free, but the fluctuation of la^3 ~ ?a^3 'more' is conditioned; ?a^3 'more' occurs where the predicate phrase is negated and la^3 'more' occurs elsewhere.

1.4.2. w_{02}, the classifier class of minor words, has two subclasses: $w_{02 \cdot 1}$ noun classifier subclass, $w_{02 \cdot 2}$ deictic subclass.

$w_{02 \cdot 1}$ is a limited subclass of minor words classifying certain nouns which includes tšа$?^3$, tu^3, and la^3 'classifier'. The minor words of subclass $w_{02 \cdot 1}$ manifest the classification tagmeme in the classifier minor phrase (p_{02}).

$w_{02 \cdot 2}$. There is a further classifier minor word which is an exception to subclass w_{01}, i.e., the deictic nu^3 'the-particular/who/which', which manifests the deictic tagmeme in the pre-periphery of the noun phrase class (P_0) and the introducer tagmeme of the relative minor sentence (s_{01}).

1.4.3. w_{03}, the boundary class of minor words, has four subclasses: $w_{03 \cdot 1}$ phrase-initial boundary subclass, $w_{03 \cdot 2}$ phrase-final boundary subclass, $w_{03 \cdot 3}$ directional boundary subclass, $w_{03 \cdot 4}$ sentence boundary subclass.

$w_{03 \cdot 1}$ is a limited subclass of boundary minor words marking the beginning of predicate phrases which includes $ha^4 \sim ?a^4$ 'negation' and wa^2 'completion'. Minor words of subclass $w_{03 \cdot 1}$ manifest the negation-completion tagmeme of the pre-periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20}), and also the negation tagmeme in the negation minor phrase (p_{04}), and the completion tagmeme in the temporal phrase (P_{31}) respectively.

$w_{03 \cdot 2}$ is a limited subclass of boundary minor words marking the end of predicate and/or noun phrases, which includes $ti?^{32}$ 'emotional verbaliser', $tu?^{32}$ 'for-sure', and ti^3 'only, just'. The minor words of subclass $w_{03 \cdot 2}$ manifest respectively the emotional verbaliser tagmeme of the emotional predicate phrase (P_{24}), the certainty tagmeme of the affirmation predicate phrase (P_{23}), and the limitation tagmeme which occurs in the post-periphery of both noun and predicate phrases and in the nucleus of the limited minor phrase (p_{03}).

$w_{03 \cdot 3}$ is a limited subclass of prepositions which in-

cludes ti^3 'from' and la^3 'towards'. Minor words of subclass $w_{03 \cdot 3}$ may manifest the director preposition tagmeme of the prepositionally directed phrase (P_{12}).

$w_{03 \cdot 4}$ consists of the minor word $?a^4 \sim a^4$ 'question-indicator' which marks the end of an inquiry sentence (S_{24}) and manifests the question marker sentence-level tagmeme.

1.4.4. w_{04}, the pronominal class of minor words includes $o^2_{\breve{c}}$ 'we-inclusive', ba^2 'we-exclusive', $wo^3_{\breve{c}}$ 'you-pl./respectful'. Minor words of class w_{04} may manifest the subject, equational subject, pronominal subject, and speaker clause-level tagmemes and the owner tagmeme in the possessive noun phrase I (P_3).

2. Phrase Types

There are both major and minor phrases in Chatino. The major phrases are expanded by both major and minor words, but the minor phrases are expanded only by minor words. The major phrases usually function as manifestations of tagmemes at levels higher than the phrase whereas the minor phrases usually function as manifestations of major phrase-level tagmemes.

There are five classes of phrases, four of which comprise major phrases: noun phrase class (P_0), prepositional phrase class (P_{10}), predicate phrase class (P_{20}), general phrase class (P_{30}), minor phrase class (p_{00}).

2.1. There are six phrase types in noun phrase class P_0, including those with and those without peripheral tagmemes. Such peripheral tagmemes are usually common to more than one type and occur in either the pre-periphery or the post-periphery. The peripheral tagmemes are described individually under P_1.

2.1.1. P_1, the attributive noun phrase, in its minimum form is manifested by a single noun, and in its maximum form is characterised by greater expansion than any other type in class P_0. This type has three allotypes: $P_{1\cdot1}$, $P_{1\cdot2}$, and $P_{1\cdot3}$.[12] They may be graphically represented thus:

$P_{1\cdot1}$ = ± Qua ± Num ± dei (+ H) ± Att ± Ch ± St
± Col ± Adj ± Dem ± li

$P_{1\cdot2}$ = ± pre-periphery (+ H) ± Desg

[12] It may be that further investigation will show that $P_{1\cdot1}$ should be divided into more subtypes on the basis of co-occurrence.

$P_{1 \cdot 3}$ = ± pre-periphery (+ H) ± Des

In P_1 the head tagmeme alone is nuclear and obligatory, manifested by a noun from hyperclass W_0, by P_2, or p_{02}, or by a particle from class W_{11} if the deictic pre-peripheral tagmeme occurs also (see 3.2.1). The pre-periphery consists of an optional quantity tagmeme manifested by a quantifier particle from subclass $W_{11 \cdot 1}$ (see 3.1.1), followed by an optional number tagmeme manifested by a numeral from class W_{12}, or by p_{03}, P_1, P_{33}, or the minor clause c_{04} (see 3.1.2), followed by an optional deictic tagmeme manifested by the minor word nu^3 'the-particular' (see 3.1.3). The post-periphery differs in the three allotypes. In $P_{1 \cdot 1}$ it consists of the optional attribution tagmeme manifested by an attributive particle from subclass $W_{11 \cdot 2}$ (see 3.1.4), followed by the optional character tagmeme manifested by a characteristic particle from subclass $W_{11 \cdot 3}$ (see 3.1.5), followed by the optional status tagmeme manifested by a state particle from subclass $W_{11 \cdot 4}$ (see 3.1.6), followed by the optional colouration tagmeme manifested by a colour particle from subclass $W_{11 \cdot 5}$ (see 3.1.7), followed by the optional adjectival tagmeme manifested by an adjective particle from subclass $W_{11 \cdot 6}$ (see 3.1.8), followed by the optional demonstration tagmeme manifested by a demonstrative pronoun from subclass $W_{4 \cdot 3}$ (see 3.1.9), and finally followed by the optional limitation tagmeme manifested by the minor word ti^3 'only, just' (see 3.1.10). The post-periphery of $P_{1 \cdot 2}$ consists of the single optional designation tagmeme manifested by a minor clause from class c_{00} (see 3.1.11). The post-periphery of $P_{1 \cdot 3}$ consists of the single optional description tagmeme which may be repeated and is manifested by the relative minor sentence s_{01} (see 3.1.12). Examples of phrase P_1 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)
ska^{3} ti^{3} nu^{3} kwitš̌i^{3}
$P_{1\cdot1}$ = Num:p_{03} dei H:p_{02}
one only the-particular rabbit
the rabbit alone

(b)
ndš̌ga^{3} kala^{4} yka^{3} tlyu^{2} kwa^{3}
$P_{1\cdot1}$ = Qua Num:$W_{12\cdot1}$ H:$W_{1\cdot1}$ Adj Dem
every twenty tree big there
every one of those twenty big trees

(c)
tukwa^{1} la^{2} kwisu?^{3} š̌tlya^{34} nde^{3} ti^{3}
$P_{1\cdot1}$ = Num:$W_{12\cdot2}$ H:p_{02} Att Dem li
two classifier turkey Spanish here only
just these two peacocks

(d)
ka?yu^{1} yka^{3} š̌tlya^{34} tsu?we^{32}
$P_{1\cdot1}$ = Num:$W_{12\cdot2}$ H:$W_{1\cdot2}$ Att Ch
five wood Spanish good
five good chairs

(e)
nu^{3} nte^{34} š̌e?o^{34} kune?^{1}
$P_{1\cdot1}$ = dei H:$W_{1\cdot1}$ Ch St
the-particular people wicked young
the wicked young person (man)

(f)
tukwa^{1} buru^{34} kune?^{1} bayu^{34}
$P_{1\cdot1}$ = Num:$W_{12\cdot2}$ H:$W_{1\cdot1}$ St Col
two donkey young dun-coloured
two young dun-coloured donkeys

(g)
š̌kwi?^{1} kye^{32} nga?a^{1} tlyu^{3} ti^{3}
$P_{1\cdot1}$ = Qua H:$W_{1\cdot1}$ Col Adj li
all flower red big only
just big red flowers all over

(h)
nu^{3} se?e^{3}
$P_{1\cdot2}$ = dei H:$W_{1\cdot1}$
the-particular place

ndukwa^{1} ska^{3} nu^{3} tu^{3} kye^{1} ʔi^{3}
Desg:c_{03}
is-on one the-particular cave pronoun
the place where his cave is

(i) ska^{3} no^{2} ngusiʔi^{43} ti^{2} ka^{3}
$P_{1\cdot2}$ = Num:$W_{12\cdot2}$ H:$W_{1\cdot1}$ Desg:c_{01}
one thing bought-I from yesterday
a thing that I bought yesterday

(j) ska^{3} nte^{34} nu^{3} lka^{4} msu^{34} ʔi^{1} yu^{3}
$P_{1\cdot3}$ = Num:$W_{12\cdot2}$ H:$W_{1\cdot1}$ Des:s_{01}
one people which is servant to man
a person who is the man's servant

(k) kunoʔ^{1} wta^{34} nu^{3} ndlo^{32} ti^{2} neʔ^{3} lo^{2} šlyu^{34}
$P_{1\cdot3}$ = H:P_{2} Des^{1}:s_{01}
meat cow which getting-out just person with knife

nu^{3} siʔyu^{1} neʔ^{3} lo^{2} šlyu^{34}
Des^{2}:s_{01}
which cut person with knife
beef which they cut out of the animal and slice with a knife

2.1.2. P_{2}, the quality noun phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes with no periphery. P_{2} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{2} = (+ QH + Q)

In P_{2} the obligatory quality head tagmeme, manifested by certain nouns from classes W_{1} and W_{2} (see 3.2.2), is followed by the obligatory quality tagmeme manifested by a specifying noun from classes W_{1} and W_{3}, or by P_{3} or a further P_{2} (see 3.2.3). Examples of P_{2} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) tškwo^{43} yka^{2}
P_{2} = QH:$W_{1\cdot1}$ Q:$W_{1\cdot2}$
metal wood
axe

(b) te?^{34} kitšo?^{2}
P_2 = QH: $W_{1 \cdot 1}$ Q: $W_{1 \cdot 2}$
cloth hair-of
blanket

(c) sta^{4} tnę^{3} ne?^{3}
P_2 = QH: $W_{1 \cdot 3}$ Q: P_3
line blood-of person
blood vessel

(d) kwiya?^{4} yka^{3} wtya^{2}
P_2 = QH: $W_{1 \cdot 1}$ Q: P_2
mushroom tree type
particular kind of mushroom

(e) nda?^{4} kwihi^{2}
P_2 = QH: $W_{1 \cdot 1}$ Q: $W_{1 \cdot 1}$
a-legume skunk
onion

(f) šuwa^{4} nti?^{23}
P_2 = QH: $W_{2 \cdot 1}$ Q: $W_{1 \cdot 3}$
Juan valley
John who lives in the valley

2.1.3. P_3, the possessive noun phrase I, is used to express obligatory possession and consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the optional pre-periphery, and one optional post-peripheral tagmeme. P_3 may be graphically represented thus:

P_3 = ± pre-periphery (+ IPH + Own) ± li

The optional noun pre-periphery is followed by the obligatory innately possessed head tagmeme manifested by a noun from class W_1 (see 3.2.4), followed by the obligatory owner tagmeme manifested by words from classes W_0 or w_{04}, or phrases from P_0 (see 3.2.5), and followed by the optional phrase boundary marker, the limitation tagmeme (see 3.1.10). Examples of P_3 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)	sno̱^{1}	snye?^{2}	reyi^{4}	
P_3 =	Num: $W_{12 \cdot 2}$	IPH: $W_{1 \cdot 2}$	Own: $W_{1 \cdot 1}$	
	three	child-of	king	
	the king's three daughters			

(b)	kiya?^{32}	msa^{34}	
P_3 =	IPH: $W_{1 \cdot 2}$	Own: $W_{1 \cdot 1}$	
	foot-of	table	
	table leg		

(c)	ska^{3}	nu^{3}	sno̱^{3}	hwele^{4}
P_3 =	Num: $W_{12 \cdot 2}$	dei	IPH: $W_{1 \cdot 2}$	Own: $W_{2 \cdot 1}$
	one	the-particular	sandal-of	Félix
		one of Felix's sandals		

2.1.4. P_4, the possessive noun phrase II, is used to express possession of nouns that are not obligatorily possessed, and consists of three obligatory nuclear tagmemes and one optional post-peripheral tagmeme. P_4 may be graphically represented thus:

$$P_4 = (+ \text{PH} \quad + \text{PI} \quad + \text{Por}) \quad \pm \text{li}$$

The obligatory possessed head tagmeme, manifested by nouns of class W_1 or by class P_0, or p_{02} (see 3.2.6), is followed by the obligatory possession indicator tagmeme manifested by the independent preposition ?i̱^{1} 'to' (see 3.2.7), followed by the obligatory possessor tagmeme manifested by a noun from hyperclass W_0, or by phrases from class P_0 (see 3.2.8), and followed by the optional limitation tagmeme (see 3.1.10). When the possessor tagmeme is manifested by a pronoun from $W_{4 \cdot 2}$, the possession indicator ?i̱^{1} 'to' is fused to it in one word. Examples of P_4 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)	tu^{3} no̱?o̱^{4}	?i̱^{1}	la^{1}	tnu̱^{3}	
P_4 =	PH: p_{02}	PI	Por: $P_{1 \cdot 1}$		
	door	to	church	great	
	the great church's door				

(b) ska^{3} kinǫ^{3} ʔi^{1} ndiyu^{34}
P_4 = PH:P_1 PI Por:$W_{2\cdot 1}$
one sandal to Antonio
one sandal of Anthony's

(c) te^{34} kitšǫʔ^{2} ʔyǫ^{21}
P_4 = PH:P_2 [PI Por]:$W_{4\cdot 2}$
cloth hair to-me
my blanket

(d) tikyeʔ^{32} ʔi^{1} yʔǫ^{1} linda^{4}
P_4 = PH:$W_{1\cdot 1}$ PI Por:P_3
heat to mother Linda
Linda's mother's fever

2.1.5. P_5, the addressee noun phrase, consists of two nuclear tagmemes, one obligatory and one optional, with no periphery. P_5 may be graphically represented thus:

P_5 = (+ Ad $\pm$ Sp)

The obligatory addressee tagmeme, manifested by noun subclass $W_{2\cdot 3}$ (see 3.2.9), is followed by the optional specifier tagmeme manifested by certain nouns from subclass $W_{1\cdot 1}$ or a restricted $P_{1\cdot 1}$ (see 3.2.10). Examples of P_5 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) tšoʔ^{32}
P_5 = Ad
Friend
a vocative term used between women

(b) tše^{32} šniʔ^{3} ndaha^{3}
P_5 = Ad Sp:$P_{1\cdot 1}$
friend dog lazy
Friend Lazy Dog

(c) škwe^{2} woʔo^{34}
P_5 = Ad Sp:$W_{1\cdot 1}$
friend coyote
Friend Coyote

These vocative nouns tše^{32} and škwe^{2} are the vocative terms used reciprocally between men.

2.1.6. P_6, the apposite noun phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes with no periphery, and may be more complex than any other type in class P_0 because of the included phrases. P_6 may be graphically represented thus:

P_6 = (+ TopH + App)

The obligatory topic head tagmeme, manifested by a noun from class W_1, or by P_1 or P_4 (see 3.2.11), is followed by the obligatory apposition tagmeme manifested by P_1, P_3, or P_4 (see 3.2.12). Examples of P_6 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) tškwo^{43} tša?^{2} nu^{3} nguda^{1} nu^{3} š?no^{2}
P_6 = TopH: $W_{1 \cdot 1}$ App: $P_{1 \cdot 3}$
metal thing which gave the-particular boss
the metal weapons which the boss gave to us

(b) ska^{3} tša?^{32} mštye^{3} tša?^{2} nu^{3} ha^{4} hlyo^{23} ti?^{32} o^{3}
P_6 = TopH: $P_{1 \cdot 1}$ App: $P_{1 \cdot 3}$
one word crazy word which negation know we-inclusive
Crazy speech consists of words that we do not understand.

2.2. There are two phrase types in the prepositional phrase class P_{10}. These are characterised by tagmemes manifested by members of the noun phrase class P_0. This class is without peripheral tagmemes.

2.2.1. P_{11}, the relational phrase, consists of two or three nuclear tagmemes, one obligatory and the others optional. There are two subtypes, $P_{11 \cdot 1}$ and $P_{11 \cdot 2}$, which may be graphically represented thus:

$P_{11 \cdot 1}$ = (+ Rel_1 ± Com)

$P_{11 \cdot 2}$ = (± n + Rel_2 ± Com)

In $P_{11\cdot 1}$, the obligatory relator$_1$ allotagma, manifested by a particle from subclass $W_{14\cdot 1}$ (see 3.3.2), is followed by the optional concomitant tagmeme manifested by a locative noun of subclass $W_{1\cdot 4}$, or by any of the noun phrase class P_0 except P_5 or P_6 (see 3.3.3). In $P_{11\cdot 2}$, the optional negation tagmeme, manifested by the minor word ha^4 ~ ʔa^4 'negation' (see 3.3.1), is followed by the obligatory relator$_2$ allotagma manifested by the independent preposition loʔo^1 'with' (see 3.3.2), followed by the optional concomitant tagmeme (see 3.3.3). Examples of P_{11} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) niʔ^2
$P_{11\cdot 1}$ = Rel_1
inside
inside it

(b) niʔ^2 lyoʔo^{32}
$P_{11\cdot 1}$ = Rel_1 Com: $W_{1\cdot 4}$
inside inside-corral
inside the corral

(c) tšųʔ^{23} nǫʔǫ^3
$P_{11\cdot 1}$ = Rel_1 Com: P_1
behind house
behind the house

(d) lo^3 nǫʔǫ^3 tškwǫ^{43}
$P_{11\cdot 1}$ = Rel_1 Com: P_2
on house metal
at the gaol

(e) lo^2 nǫ^2 ʔyǫ^{21}
$P_{11\cdot 1}$ = Rel_1 Com: P_4
on thing to-me
on my things

(f) ha^4 lo?o^1
$P_{11\cdot 2}$ = n Rel_2
negation with
I/you/he do not have it/him with me/you/him.

(g) lo?o^1 snye?^{2} ne?^{3}
$P_{11\cdot 2}$ = Rel_2 Com:P_3
with child-of person
with his child

2.2.2. P_{12}, the prepositionally directed phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes. P_{12} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{12} = (+ dp + Cpr)

The obligatory director preposition tagmeme, manifested by a minor word from the directional boundary subclass $w_{03\cdot 3}$ (see 3.3.4), is followed by the obligatory completor tagmeme manifested by any of the noun phrase class P_0 except P_5 or P_6, or by p_{03}, or by temporal nouns from class W_3, temporal particles from class W_{13} or by a stative clause (C_5) (see 3.3.5). Examples of P_{12} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) la^2 šnu?^{1} tso^{23}
P_{12} = dp Cpr:P_1
towards another-eight day
in a week's time

(b) ti^3 kwi?yu^1
P_{12} = dp Cpr:$W_{3\cdot 1}$
from day-before-day-before-yesterday
three days ago

(c) la^2 nde^3 la^2 ti^3 tši?^{1}
P_{12} = dp Cpr:C_5
towards here most a-little
It's this way a little bit more.

(d) ti^2 kwa^3 ti^3
P_{12} = dp Cpr:p_{03}
from there only
just from there

2.3. There are six phrase types in the predicate phrase class P_{20}, all with both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes except P_{23}. Selections from the same peripheral tagmemes occur with each type forming the pre-periphery and post-periphery. Although rare, it is possible for all the peripheral tagmemes to occur in the same phrase, usually in an example of P_{21}.

2.3.1. P_{21}, the simple predicate phrase, consists of a single obligatory nuclear tagmeme with an optional pre-periphery and an optional post-periphery. P_{21} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{21} = ± ncp ± Adv (+ PrH) ± deg ± Mod ± li

The optional negation-completion tagmeme, manifested by the minor words $ha^4 \sim {}^{?}a^4$ 'negation' or wa^2 'completion' (see 3.4.1), is followed by the optional adverbial tagmeme manifested by a descriptive particle from class W_{11}, or a temporal from classes $W_{3.1}$ or W_{13}, or by a minor phrase (see 3.4.2), followed by the obligatory predicate head tagmeme manifested by a verb from hyperclass W_{20} (see 3.5.1), followed by the optional degree tagmeme manifested by an augmentative minor word (see 3.4.3), followed by the optional modification tagmeme manifested by a descriptive particle of class W_{11}, or by p_{01} (see 3.4.4), followed by the optional phrase boundary marker, the limitation tagmeme (see 3.1.10). Subclass $W_{11.8}$ of descriptive particles, or an expansion of these descriptives to a comparison minor phrase, may manifest either the adverbial or the modification tagmemes with a slight lexical difference according to the tagmeme manifested. Examples of P_{21} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) wa^2 lye^{32} la^3 $ngu?ni^1$
P_{21} = ncp Adv:p_{01} PrH:W_{23}
completion much more made-he
He had done much more.

(b) wa^2 $ngu?ni^1$ lye^{32} la^3
P_{21} = ncp PrH:W_{23} Mod:p_{01}
completion made-he much more
He had done much more.

(c) $ku?ni^{32}$ la^3 $t\check{s}i?^1$
P_{21} = PrH:W_{23} deg Mod:$W_{11\cdot 7}$
will-make-you more a-little
You are to do a little more.

(d) ha^4 $tsu?we^{32}$ $ndo?o^1$ $?a^2$
P_{21} = ncp Adv:$W_{11\cdot 3}$ PrH:W_{23} deg
negation good walking-she more
She no longer walks well now.

2.3.2. P_{22}, the qualified predicate phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes with an optional pre-periphery and a limited post-periphery. There are two subtypes, $P_{22\cdot 1}$ and $P_{22\cdot 2}$, which may be graphically represented thus:

$P_{22\cdot 1}$ = $\pm$ pre-periphery (+ $QPrH_1$ + Qn_1) $\pm$ li

$P_{22\cdot 2}$ = $\pm$ pre-periphery (+ $QPrH_2$ + Qn_2) $\pm$ li

In $P_{22\cdot 1}$ the optional predicate pre-periphery is followed by the obligatory qualified predicate $head_1$ allotagma manifested by certain verbs from classes W_{22} and W_{23} (see 3.5.2), followed by the obligatory $qualification_1$ allotagma manifested by certain nouns from class W_1 (see 3.5.3), followed by the optional limitation tagmeme (see 3.1.10). In $P_{22\cdot 2}$ the optional pre-periphery is followed by the obligatory qualified predicate $head_2$ allotagma manifested by certain verbs from class W_{23} (see 3.5.2), followed by the obligatory $qualification_2$ allotagma manifested by the referential class W_{21} of

verbs (see 3.5.3), followed by the optional limitation tagmeme. Examples of P_{22} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)	wa^{2}	nsi?yu^{1}	ku?^{32}	ti^{3}
$P_{22\cdot1}$ =	ncp	$QPrH_1$:W_{23}	Qn_1:$W_{1\cdot1}$	li
	completion	cutting	end	only

(They) just cut off slices.

(b)	lye^{32}	nšu^{43}	ta?a^{23}
$P_{22\cdot1}$ =	Adv:$W_{11\cdot8}$	$QPrH_1$:W_{23}	Qn_1:$W_{1\cdot2}$
	much	fighting	relative-of

(They) are fighting one another.

(c)	su?wa^{32}	biya?^{2}
$P_{22\cdot1}$ =	$QPrH_1$:W_{23}	Qn_1:$W_{1\cdot2}$
	will-put-you	measure-you

You will put your weight (against mine).

(d)	nšo?^{32}	ti?i^{32}
$P_{22\cdot2}$ =	$QPrH_2$	Qn_2
	collecting, dir.	will-be-living

(They) are collecting in one place.

(e)	tsa^{3}	nsko?^{1}	ko?o^{43}
$P_{22\cdot2}$ =	Adv:$W_{11\cdot3}$	$QPrH_2$	Qn_2
	tight	tying	will-be-adjoining

(They) are tying (it) up securely.

2.3.3. P_{23}, the affirmation predicate phrase, consists solely of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, and may be used only with the intentive aspect of the verb. P_{23} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{23} = (+ APrH + cer)

The obligatory affirmed predicate head tagmeme, manifested by certain verbs from hyperclass W_{20} (see 3.5.4), is followed by the obligatory certainty tagmeme manifested by the minor word tu?^{32} 'for sure' (see 3.5.5). Examples of P_{23} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) hyo̱^{32} tu?^{2}
P_{23} = APrH:W_{23} cer
will-return-you for-sure
You are certain to return.

(b) ka^{4} tu?^{2}
P_{23} = APrH:W_{22} cer
will-be for-sure
That is good enough.

(c) ku̱^{32} tu̱?^{1}
P_{23} = APrH:W_{24} cer
will-eat-I for-sure-I
I will certainly eat (it).

(d) tyi̱?i̱^{23} tu?^{2}
P_{23} = APrH:W_{21} cer
will-be-living-it,dir. for-sure
It is quite all right for it to continue to be here.

2.3.4. P_{24}, the emotional predicate phrase, has a discontinuous nucleus consisting of two obligatory tagmemes separated by the post-periphery. P_{24} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{24} = ± pre-periphery (+ EH) ± post-periphery [-li]
(+ ev)

The optional predicate pre-periphery is followed by the obligatory emotional head tagmeme manifested by verbs from class W_{27} (see 3.5.6), followed by the optional predicate post-periphery (with the exception of the limitation tagmeme which may not occur in P_{24}), followed by the obligatory emotional verbaliser tagmeme manifested by the minor word ti?^{32} 'emotional verbaliser', which also acts as the phrase boundary marker (see 3.5.7). Examples of P_{24} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)	ha^{4}	ndiya^{21}	ʔa^{3}	tš̲i̲ʔ^{1}	ti̲ʔ^{43}
P_{24} =	ncp	EH:W_{27}	deg	Mod:$W_{11\cdot 7}$	ev
	negation	is-belonging	more	a-little	em.-verbr.-I

I do not like it at all.

(b)	ndiya^{21}	la^{3}	tš̲i̲ʔ^{1}	ti̲ʔ^{43}
P_{24} =	EH:W_{27}	deg	Mod:$W_{11\cdot 7}$	ev
	is-belonging	more	a-little	em.-verbr.-I

I like it a little.

(c)	wa^{2}	tiʔi^{3}	ngwo̲^{2}	ʔo̲^{3}	tiʔ^{1}
P_{24} =	ncp	EH:W_{27}	Mod:$W_{11\cdot 8}$		ev
	completion	hurt	like	that	em.-verbr.-he

That is how grieved he was.

(d)	wa^{2}	ngwo̲^{2}	ʔo̲^{3}	tiʔi^{3}	tiʔ^{1}
P_{24} =	ncp	Adv:$W_{11\cdot 8}$		EH:W_{27}	ev
	completion	like	that	hurt	em.-verbr.-he

That is how he was grieved.

2.3.5. P_{25}, the stative predicate phrase, consists of a single obligatory nuclear tagmeme with the periphery. There are two subtypes, $P_{25\cdot 1}$ and $P_{25\cdot 2}$, which may be graphically represented thus:

$P_{25\cdot 1}$ = ± pre-periphery (+ SH_1) ± post-periphery

$P_{25\cdot 2}$ = ± pre-periphery (+ SH_2) ± Mod

In $P_{25\cdot 1}$ the optional predicate pre-periphery is followed by the obligatory stative $head_1$ allotagma manifested by a pronoun of subclass $W_{4\cdot 3}$, a descriptive particle of class W_{11}, a temporal particle from class W_{13}, or a stative verb from class W_{28} (see 3.5.8), followed by the optional predicate post-periphery. In $P_{25\cdot 2}$ the optional pre-periphery is followed by the obligatory stative $head_2$ allotagma manifested by p_{01} (see 3.5.8), followed by the optional modification tagmeme. Examples of P_{25} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ha^{4} lye^{32} ngutsu?^{34}
$P_{25\cdot1}$ = ncp Adv:$W_{11\cdot8}$ SH_1:$W_{11\cdot9}$
negation much muddy
It is not very muddy.

(b) ha^{4} kula^{3} lye^{32}
$P_{25\cdot1}$ = ncp SH_1:$W_{11\cdot4}$ Mod:$W_{11\cdot8}$
negation old much
It is not very old.

(c) tlya?^{2} ?a^{1}
$P_{25\cdot1}$ = SH_1:W_{11} deg
cold very
It is very cold.

(d) wa^{2} s?ni^{3} ?a^{1}
$P_{25\cdot1}$ = ncp SH_1:W_{13} deg
completion long-ago very
It was a very long time ago.

(e) nga?a^{23} la^{2} ti^{3}
$P_{25\cdot2}$ = SH_2
greenest
It is the greenest.

(f) wa^{2} kula^{3} la^{3} tš̨i?^{1}
$P_{25\cdot2}$ = ncp SH_2 Mod:$W_{11\cdot7}$
completion older a-little
It is a little older.

2.3.6. P_{26}, the auxiliary predicate phrase,[13] consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes with the periphery. P_{26} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{26} = ± pre-periphery (+ Aux + AH) ± post-periphery

The optional predicate pre-periphery is followed by the obligatory auxiliar tagmeme manifested by an auxiliary verb

[13] A detailed analysis of co-occurrence subtypes of P_{26} has not yet been attempted. Further analysis may establish further contrasting types.

of class W_{25} (see 3.5.9), followed by the obligatory head to the auxiliar tagmeme manifested by a verb from hyperclass W_{20}, or by P_{24} or a further P_{26} (see 3.5.10), followed by the optional predicate post-periphery. Examples of P_{26} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ya^{32} ytsa?^{32}
P_{26} = Aux AH:W_{23}
went told-he
He went and told.

(b) su^{2} ndi?o^{43} ti^{3}
P_{26} = Aux AH:W_{21} li
lying is-adjoining,dir. only
just stays lying there

(c) ha^{4} ka^{43} ku?ni^{1} šo?o^{32} lye^{32}
P_{26} = ncp Aux AH:P_{26} [Aux AH] Mod:$W_{11\cdot 8}$
negation will-be will-make will-change much
will not be able to learn much

(d) ndška^{32} ndi?ya^{43}
P_{26} = Aux AH:W_{23}
is,dir. bringing-he
he is able and is bringing

2.4. There are four phrase types in the general phrase class P_{30}. They occur without peripheral tagmemes, and consist only of nuclei.

2.4.1. P_{31}, the temporal phrase, consists of three nuclear tagmemes of which two are obligatory and one optional. It is used when calculating elapsed time. P_{31} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{31} = (± Spe + cp + TH)

The optional specification tagmeme, manifested by certain temporal nouns from class W_3 or by P_2 (see 3.6.1), is fol-

lowed by the obligatory completion tagmeme manifested by the minor word wa^2 'completion' (see 3.6.2), followed by the obligatory temporal head tagmeme manifested by P_1, p_{03}, a noun from class W_3, or a particle from class W_{13} (see 3.6.3). Examples of P_{31} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) kya^{43} wa^2 $snu\underset{\cdot}{?}^{43}$ $ts\underset{\cdot}{o}^{23}$
P_{31} = Spe:W_3 cp TH:P_1
tomorrow completion eight day
a week ago tomorrow

(b) wa^2 tla^4 ti^3
P_{31} = cp TH:p_{03}
completion night only
just during the night

(c) $ta?a^3$ $santa^4$ $krsi^4$ wa^2 $sn\underset{\cdot}{o}^{43}$ $yih\underset{\cdot}{o}^{23}$
P_{31} = Spe:P_2 cp TH:P_1
feast Holy Cross completion three year
three years ago at the Feast of the Holy Cross

2.4.2. P_{32}, the calendar phrase, consists of three obligatory nuclear tagmemes, and is used only when specifying an actual calendar date. P_{32} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{32} = (+ SpNm + CR + Det)

The obligatory specifying number tagmeme, manifested by a numeral from class W_{12}, or by P_{33}, or the minor clause c_{04} (see 3.6.4), is followed by the obligatory calendar relational tagmeme manifested by the independent preposition lo^3 'in, on' (see 3.6.5), followed by the obligatory determinator tagmeme manifested only by the nouns $yih\underset{\cdot}{o}^3$ 'year', or $ko?^{12}$ 'month', or by P_2 (see 3.6.6). Examples of P_{32} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ti?yu̯[1] šką[1] lo[3] ko?[12] sptiyembre[4]
P_{32} = SpNm: P_{33} CR Det: P_2
fifteen another-one in month September
16th of September

(b) kulo[23] lo[3] ko?[12] mayu[4]
P_{32} = SpNm: $W_{12 \cdot 5}$ CR Det: P_2
first in month May
the first of May

(c) tyi[43] lo[3] ko?[12] ni[2]
P_{32} = SpNm: $W_{12 \cdot 5}$ CR Det: P_2
ending in month now
the last day of this month

2.4.3. P_{33}, the numerical phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes. P_{33} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{33} = (+ Nc + An)

The obligatory numeric tagmeme, manifested by numerals of subclass $W_{12 \cdot 1}$ (see 3.6.7), is followed by the obligatory addition tagmeme manifested by the $W_{12 \cdot 3}$ subclass of numerals or the numerals ka?yu[1] 'five' and ti?yu̯[1] 'fifteen' (see 3.6.8). Examples of P_{33} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ti?yu̯[1] šką[4]
P_{33} = Nc An: $W_{12 \cdot 3}$
fifteen another-one
sixteen

(b) kala[4] nga?yu[1]
P_{33} = Nc An: $W_{12 \cdot 2}$
twenty plus-five
twenty-five

(c) tu?wa[1] tyi[43]
P_{33} = Nc An: $W_{12 \cdot 3}$
forty another-ten
fifty

(d) ti[2] lkwa[1]
P_{33} = Nc An: $W_{12 \cdot 3}$
ten another-four
fourteen

2.4.4. P_{34}, the interrogative phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes. P_{34} may be graphically represented thus:

P_{34} = (+ ItgH + ItgC)

The obligatory interrogative head tagmeme, manifested by the $W_{14 \cdot 4}$ subclass of relators (see 3.6.9), is followed by the obligatory interrogative completor tagmeme manifested by a very limited selection of nouns, verbs, and particles (see 3.6.10). Examples of P_{34} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)		ni^3	$t\check{s}a?^{32}$	(b)		la^3	ya^{32}
	P_{34} =	ItgH	ItgC: noun		P_{34} =	ItgH	ItgC: verb
		what?	thing			direction?	went
		why?				in which direction?	

2.5. There are four minor phrase types in the minor phrase class p_{00}. They occur without peripheral tagmemes, consisting only of nuclei. One major word only occurs in each minor phrase.

2.5.1. p_{01}, the comparison minor phrase, consists of three nuclear tagmemes, of which two are obligatory and one optional. p_{01} may be graphically represented thus:

p_{01} = (+ QrH + cve $\pm$ sve)

The obligatory qualifier head tagmeme, manifested by a particle from classes W_{11} or W_{13}, or a noun from subclass $W_{4 \cdot 3}$ (see 3.7.1), is followed by the obligatory comparative tagmeme manifested by the minor word la^2 'more' (see 3.7.2), followed by the optional superlative tagmeme manifested by the minor word ti^3 'most' (see 3.7.3). Examples of p_{01} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)
p_{01} = QrH:$W_{11\cdot5}$ — ku?tsi^2 (yellow) la^2 (cve, more) ti^3 (sve, most)
yellowest

(b)
p_{01} = QrH:$W_{11\cdot4}$ — kula^3 (old) la^2 (cve, more) ti^3 (sve, most)
oldest

(c)
p_{01} = QrH:$W_{4\cdot3}$ — kwa^3 (there) la^2 (cve, more)
that way more

2.5.2. p_{02}, the classifier minor phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes and has two subtypes, $p_{02\cdot1}$ and $p_{02\cdot2}$, which may be graphically represented thus:

$p_{02\cdot1}$ = (+ cl_1 + NoH_1)

$p_{02\cdot2}$ = (± cl_2 + NoH_2)

In $p_{02\cdot1}$, the obligatory classification$_1$ allotagma, manifested by the minor words tu^3 and la^3 'classifier' (see 3.7.4), is followed by the obligatory nominal head$_1$ allotagma manifested by certain nouns, verbs, or other morphemes of indeterminate meaning (see 3.7.5). In $p_{02\cdot2}$, the optional classification$_2$ allotagma, manifested by the minor word tšа?^{3} 'classifier' (see 3.7.4), is followed by the obligatory nominal head$_2$ allotagma manifested by noun subclass $W_{1\cdot7}$ (see 3.7.5). Examples of p_{02} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)
$p_{02\cdot1}$ = cl_1 (tu^3, classifier) + NoH_1:noun (škula^4, school)
schoolteacher

(b)
$p_{02\cdot1}$ = cl_1 (tu^3, classifier) + NoH_1:noun (ho?o^{34}, spirit)
sea

(c) la^3 $ku?no_{\breve{c}}^2$
$p_{02\cdot1}$ = cl_1 NoH_1: verb
classifier will-slash
alligator

(d) la^3 $kwi?ya^1$
$p_{02\cdot1}$ = cl_1 NoH_1: verb
classifier will-carry
bird of prey

(e) $t\check{s}a?^3$ $kwit\check{s}i^3$
$p_{02\cdot2}$ = cl_2 NoH_2
classifier rabbit
rabbit

(f) $t\check{s}a?^3$ $yu?^{32}$
$p_{02\cdot2}$ = cl_2 NoH_2
classifier hummingbird
hummingbird

(g) $t\check{s}a?^3$ $nt\check{s}i_{\breve{c}}^{32}$
$p_{02\cdot2}$ = cl_2 NoH_2
classifier praying mantis
praying mantis

2.5.3. p_{03}, the limited minor phrase, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes. p_{03} may be graphically represented thus:

p_{03} = (+ LH + li)

The obligatory limited head tagmeme, manifested by a noun from classes W_3 or $W_{4\cdot3}$, or a particle from class W_{10} (see 3.7.6), is followed by the obligatory limitation tagmeme manifested by the minor word ti^3 'only, just' (see 3.7.7 and 3.1.10). Examples of p_{03} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) siya?^{1} ti^{3}
p_{03} = LH:W_{13} li
once only
all at once

(b) šiʔi^{3} ti^{3}
p_{03} = LH:W_{11} li
little-while only
quickly

(c) mnǫ^{3} ti^{3}
p_{03} = LH:W_{11} li
secretly only
softly

(d) ska^{3} ti^{3}
p_{03} = LH:W_{12} li
one only
alone

(e) tsǫ^{23} ti^{3}
p_{03} = LH:W_{3} li
day only
just this morning

2.5.4. p_{04}, the negative minor phrase, consists of three nuclear tagmemes, two obligatory and one optional. p_{04} may be graphically represented thus:

p_{04} = (+ n + NegH ± aug)

The obligatory negation tagmeme, manifested only by the minor word ha^{4} ~ ʔa^{4} 'negation' (see 3.7.8), is followed by the obligatory negated head tagmeme manifested only by the noun tukwi^{2} 'meaning uncertain' or the numeral ska^{3} 'one' (see 3.7.9), followed by the optional augmentation tagmeme manifested by the minor word ʔa^{3} 'more' (see 3.7.10). Examples of p_{04} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ha^{4} tukwi^{2} ʔa^{3}
p_{04} = n NegH:noun aug
negation meaning-uncertain more
nobody else

(b) ʔa^{4} ska^{2}
p_{04} = n NegH:numeral
negation one
nothing/no one

3. Phrase-Level Tagmemes

The following description of the phrase-level tagmemes considers the form, function, and distribution of each tagmeme.

3.1. The periphery of noun phrase class P_0 (see 2.1) consists of three pre-peripheral tagmemes and seven post-peripheral tagmemes. The complete post-periphery occurs in P_1, although no example contains all of the tagmemes. Only the limitation tagmeme, a phrase boundary marker, occurs as post-periphery in other noun phrase types.

3.1.1. Quantity. This tagmeme is always manifested by a major word from the quantifier subclass of particles $W_{11 \cdot 1}$: ndšga^{3} 'all/every', škwi?^{1} 'all' (the whole of a thing), l?we^{2} 'half'. The quantifier tells only the general amount of a thing, and may be followed by a definite number. The quantity tagmeme occurs in P_1 and P_3 (see 2.1.1, 2.1.3).

3.1.2. Number. This tagmeme is manifested by the numerals of class W_{12}, or by P_{33}, P_1, p_{03}, or a numeral referential minor clause (c_{04} - see 4.5.4). $W_{12 \cdot 1}$: ti?yu̯^{1} 'fifteen', tu?wa^{1} 'forty'; $W_{12 \cdot 2}$: ska^{3} 'one', kati^{1} 'seven'; $W_{12 \cdot 3}$: tyukwa^{1} 'another-two', šno̯^{1} 'another-three'; $W_{12 \cdot 4}$: tyka^{1} 'another-nine', kila^{1} 'another-twenty'; P_{33}: kala^{4} ndi?yu̯^{32} 'twenty another-fifteen' (thirty-five); P_1: tukwa^{1} siyetu̯^{4} 'two hundred'; c_{04}: sno̯^{1} yla^{4} nsu?wi^{32} ka?yu^{1} 'three score there-is five' (sixty-five); tu?wa^{1} ndukwa^{43} hakwa^{3} 'forty is-there four' (forty-four); p_{03}: ska^{3} ti^{3} 'one only'. The numeral tells the definite amount of a thing. The number tagmeme occurs in P_1 and P_3 (see 2.1.1, 2.1.3).

3.1.3. Deictic. This tagmeme is manifested only by the

minor word nu^3 'the-particular' from the subclass $W_{02\cdot 2}$. Its function is to point out the following noun.[14] If what follows is not a noun, this minor word both points it out and nominalises it as follows: ti?i^3 'hurt', nu^3 ti?i^3 'the-particular hurt' (one-who-is-poor/hurts); luwe^2 'small', nu^3 luwe^2 'the-particular small' (child); nde^3 'this/here', nu^3 nde^3 'the-particular this' (this one). The deictic tagmeme occurs in P_1 and P_3 (see 2.1.1, 2.1.3).

3.1.4. Attribution. This tagmeme is always manifested by a major word from the attributive subclass of descriptive particles $W_{11\cdot 2}$: šlya^{34} 'Spanish', kuliya?^{32} 'rich', t?nǫ^2 'poor'. The attribution tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1\cdot 1}$ (see 2.1.1) and may have up to three peripheral tagmemes following it in any one phrase, of which three, two are the demonstration and limitation tagmemes.

3.1.5. Character. This tagmeme is always manifested by a major word from the characteristic subclass of descriptive particles $W_{11\cdot 3}$: še?ǫ^{34} 'wicked/bad', tsu?we^{32} 'good'. The character tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1\cdot 1}$ (see 2.1.1). It may occur together with up to three other post-peripheral tagmemes, of which three, two are demonstration and limitation.

3.1.6. Status. This tagmeme is always manifested by a major word from the state subclass of descriptive particles $W_{11\cdot 4}$: kune?^{1} 'young', kula^3 'old'. The status tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1\cdot 1}$ (see 2.1.1). It may occur together with up to three other post-peripheral tagmemes, of which three, two are demonstration and limitation.

[14] This minor word may have the additional meaning of 'humaniser', eg., animals do not normally use human speech, but in traditional Chatino stories human speech is attributed to them and the deictic nu^3 is usually used when referring to them. Further investigation is necessary to provide conclusive evidence.

3.1.7. Colouration. This tagmeme is always manifested by a major word from the colour subclass of descriptive particles $W_{11 \cdot 5}$: ngate^{23} 'white', kuši?^{2} 'blue', ku?tsi^{2} 'yellow'. The colouration tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1 \cdot 1}$ (see 2.1.1). It may occur together with up to three other post-peripheral tagmemes, of which three, two are demonstration and limitation.

3.1.8. Adjectival. This tagmeme is always manifested by a major word from the adjective subclass of descriptive particles $W_{11 \cdot 6}$: tlyu^{3} 'big', luwe^{2} 'small', tnu^{3} 'huge/great'. The adjectival tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1 \cdot 1}$ (see 2.1.1). It may occur together with up to three other post-peripheral tagmemes, of which three, two are demonstration and limitation.

3.1.9. Demonstration. This tagmeme is always manifested by a major word from the demonstrative subclass of pronouns $W_{4 \cdot 3}$: nde^{3} 'here', kwa^{3} 'there', ko?^{2} 'that-emphatic'. The demonstration tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1 \cdot 1}$ (see 2.1.1). It may occur preceded by only two other post-peripheral tagmemes in any one phrase, and followed by the limitation tagmeme.

3.1.10. Limitation. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor word ti^{3} 'only/just' from the phrase-final boundary subclass $w_{03 \cdot 2}$. The limitation tagmeme occurs in $P_{1 \cdot 1}$ (see 2.1.1) where it may be preceded by up to three other post-peripheral tagmemes in any one phrase, of which three, one is demonstration. It occurs as the only peripheral tagmeme in P_4 (see 2.1.4) and the only post-peripheral tagmeme in P_3 (see 2.1.3). It also occurs in the periphery of the predicate phrase class (P_{20} - see 2.3) and is nuclear to the minor phrase p_{03} (see 2.5.3).

3.1.11. Designation. This tagmeme is manifested by a

descriptive minor clause from class c_{00} (see 4.5). Examples of phrase $P_{1 \cdot 2}$ follow demonstrating the function of this tagmeme.

(a) ska^{3} nu^{3} kuša^{34} ngusi?i^{32} ba^{2} s?ni^{3}
$P_{1 \cdot 2}$ = Num dei H Desg:c_{01}
one the-particular needle bought we-exclusive long-ago
a particular injection that we bought a long time ago

(b) rantšu^{34} wta^{34} ndiya^{21} ?i^{1} nte^{34}
$P_{1 \cdot 2}$ = H Desg:c_{03}
ranch cow is-belonging to people
the cattle ranches people have

The designation tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1 \cdot 2}$ as the unique tagmeme in the post-periphery of such a phrase (see 2.1.1).

3.1.12. Description. This tagmeme is manifested by a relative minor sentence (s_{01} - see 8.5.1) and may be repeated. Examples of phrase $P_{1 \cdot 3}$ follow demonstrating the function of this tagmeme.

(a) yka^{3} nu^{3} lka^{4} kune?^{1} la^{2}
$P_{1 \cdot 3}$ = H Des:s_{01}
tree which is young more
the younger tree

(b) ska^{3} yu^{3} ki?yu^{1} nu^{3} ha^{4} šlya^{43} ku?ni^{32} tnyo^{32}
$P_{1 \cdot 3}$ = Num H Des^{1}:s_{01}
one man male which negative will-want will-make work

nu^{3} ha^{4} šlya^{43} tsa^{32} hyo^{12}
Des^{2}:s_{01}
which negative will-want go-out-to field-his
a man who isn't willing to do any work or to go out to his field

The description tagmeme occurs only in $P_{1 \cdot 3}$ as the unique tagmeme in the post-periphery of such a phrase (see 2.1.1).

3.2. The nuclei of the noun phrases demonstrate most of the characteristics which differentiate the various types. P_1 is also differentiated from the rest of the P_0 class (see 2.1) by the presence of all the peripheral tagmemes, and P_3 by the presence of the pre-periphery.

3.2.1. Head. This tagmeme is manifested by any noun from subclasses $W_{1\cdot1}$, $W_{1\cdot3}$, $W_{2\cdot1}$, $W_{3\cdot1}$, $W_{4\cdot3}$, or by P_2 or p_{02}, or by any descriptive particle from class W_{11} except subclasses $W_{11\cdot1}$ or $W_{11\cdot7}$. With a descriptive particle the occurrence of the deictic peripheral tagmeme is obligatory, as in such a phrase its deictic function is extended to that of nominaliser also.[15] H:$W_{1\cdot1\cdot1}$ no̱?o̱^{3} 'house', šni?^{3} 'dog'; H:$W_{1\cdot1\cdot2}$ kaswela^{4} 'casserole'; H:$W_{1\cdot3}$ kwi̱?i̱^{3} 'wind'; H:$W_{2\cdot1}$ se^{3} 'José'; H:$W_{3\cdot1}$ tso̱^{23} 'day'; H:$W_{4\cdot3}$ (nu^{3}) nde^{3} '(the) this (one)'; H:$W_{11\cdot2}$ (nu^{3}) kuliya?^{32} '(the) rich (one)'; H:$W_{11\cdot3}$ (nu^{3}) še?o̱^{34} '(the) wicked (one)'; H:$W_{11\cdot4}$ (nu^{3}) kune?^{1} '(the) young (one)'; H:$W_{11\cdot5}$ (nu^{3}) ngata^{32} '(the) black (one)'; H:$W_{11\cdot6}$ (nu^{3}) tlyu^{3} '(the) big (one)'; H:$W_{11\cdot8}$ (nu^{3}) kwinyi^{3} '(the) fertile (one)'; H:$W_{11\cdot9}$ (nu^{3}) tlya?^{2} '(the) cold (one)'; H:P_2 yka^{3} ndla^{34} 'tree peach' (peach tree), sne^{23} kihi̱^{2} 'instrument skin' (drum); H:p_{02} tša?^{3} tya^{1} 'squirrel', tu^{3} ndsko̱^{2} 'earhole'. The head tagmeme occurs in P_1 (see 2.1.1).

3.2.2. Quality Head. This tagmeme is manifested by certain nouns from subclasses $W_{1\cdot1}$, $W_{1\cdot3}$, $W_{1\cdot4}$, or $W_{2\cdot1}$. QH:$W_{1\cdot1}$ tškwo̱^{43} 'metal', nda?^{4} 'a particular legume', kwiya?^{4} 'mushroom', tnyi^{34} 'money'; QH:$W_{1\cdot3}$ ko?^{2} 'moon, month'; QH:$W_{1\cdot4}$ no̱?o̱^{3} 'house'; QH:$W_{2\cdot1}$ rodi^{2} 'Rodrigo'. The quality head tagmeme occurs only in P_2 (see 2.1.2).

3.2.3. Quality. This tagmeme is manifested by nouns from subclasses $W_{1\cdot1}$, $W_{1\cdot2}$, $W_{1\cdot3}$, $W_{3\cdot1}$, or by P_3 or a further P_2. Q:$W_{1\cdot1}$ kwihi^{32} 'skunk' following QH nda?^{4} 'a

[15] See footnote 12.

particular legume' > nda?^{4} kwihi^{32} 'onion', nsuwi^{34} 'guava' following QH yka^{3} 'tree' > yka^{3} nsuwi^{34} 'guava-tree', tškwo^{43} 'metal' following QH no?o^{3} 'house' > no?o^{3} tškwo^{43} 'gaol', nte^{23} 'hill' following QH rodi^{2} 'Rodrigo' > rodi^{2} nte^{23} 'Rodrigo-who-lives-on-the-hill' (where 'hill' is the Chatino equivalent of a surname); Q:$W_{1\cdot2}$ yka^{3} 'wood' following QH tškwo^{43} 'metal' > tškwo^{43} yka^{3} 'axe', kitšo?^{2} 'hair-of' following QH te?^{34} 'cloth' > te?^{34} kitšo?^{2} 'blanket'; Q:$W_{1\cdot3}$ ko?^{2} 'moon, month' following QH tnyi^{34} 'money' > tnyi^{34} ko?^{2} 'a head tax paid monthly'; Q:$W_{3\cdot1}$ ni^{2} 'now' following QH yiho^{3} 'year' > yiho^{3} ni^{2} 'year now' (this year), ndisiyembre^{4} 'December' following QH ko?^{2} 'month' > ko?^{2} ndisiyembre^{4} 'month December'; Q:P_{2} yka^{3} wtya^{2} 'particular kind of tree' following QH kwiya?^{4} 'mushroom' > kwiya?^{4} yka^{3} wtya^{2} 'a particular kind of mushroom'. The quality tagmeme occurs only in P_{2} (see 2.1.2).

3.2.4. Innately Possessed Head. This tagmeme is manifested by a noun from subclass $W_{1\cdot2}$. IPH:$W_{1\cdot2\cdot1}$ ško?^{32} 'blouse/shirt-of'; IPH:$W_{1\cdot2\cdot2}$ ya?^{32} 'hand-of', sti^{2} 'father-of'. The innately possessed head tagmeme occurs only in P_{3} (see 2.1.3).

3.2.5. Owner. This tagmeme is manifested by a noun from subclasses $W_{1\cdot1}$, $W_{1\cdot3}$, $W_{2\cdot1}$, $W_{4\cdot1}$, w_{04}, or by P_{1}, P_{2}, P_{3}, or P_{4}. Own:$W_{1\cdot1}$ nte^{34} 'people', siyera^{34} 'saw'; Own:$W_{1\cdot3}$ kutša^{2} 'sun'; Own:$W_{2\cdot1}$ sali^{2} 'Marcelina'; Own:$W_{4\cdot1}$ nu?wi^{2} 'you-familiar'; Own:w_{04} wo^{3} 'you-pl./respectful'; Own:P_{1} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} 'person different' (Mexican); Own:P_{2} yka^{3} to^{2} 'wood lard' (oak); Own:P_{3} kye^{2} ne?^{3} 'head-of person' (his head); Own:P_{4} kwiyu^{34} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} 'mule to person' (his mule). The owner tagmeme occurs only in P_{3} (see 2.1.3).

3.2.6. Possessed Head. This tagmeme is manifested by

nouns from subclasses $W_{1\cdot 1}$, $W_{1\cdot 2}$, $W_{1\cdot 4}$, or by $P_{1\cdot 1}$, or P_2 when the head tagmemes of these phrases are manifested by nouns which are not obligatorily possessed, or by P_3 or p_{02}. PH:$W_{1\cdot 1}$ brẹngano^4 'oregano'; PH:$W_{1\cdot 2}$ ykọ?^{2} 'blouse/shirt'; PH:$W_{1\cdot 4}$ lo?o^2 'corral'; PH:$P_{1\cdot 1}$ ska^3 nọ?ọ^2 'a house', nu^3 kwiyu^{34} kula^3 'the-particular mule old' (the old mule); PH:P_2 nọ?ọ^3 tš̌kwọ^{43} 'house metal' (gaol); PH:P_3 kiya?^{32} msa^{34} 'foot table' (table leg); PH:p_{02} tš̌a?^{3} kwitš̌i^3 'classifier rabbit'. The possessed head tagmeme occurs only in P_4 (see 2.1.4).

3.2.7. Possession Indicator. This tagmeme is manifested only by the independent preposition ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'to' from subclass $W_{14\cdot 1}$. msu^{34} ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ yu^3 'servant to man' (the man's servant), tš̌kwọ^{43} ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ nu^3 kwọ?ọ^1 'metal to the-particular female' (the woman's bucket). When the possessor tagmeme is manifested by a pronominal minor word of class w_{04}, the preposition ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'to' is fused to it to form one major word from subclass $W_{4\cdot 2}$: ọ^2 'we-inclusive' following ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'to' > ?nọ^3 'to-we-inclusive' (of ours), ba^2 'we-exclusive' following ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'to' > ?ba^3 'to-we-exclusive' (of ours), wọ^3 'you-pl./respectful' following ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'to' > ?wọ^3 'to-you-pl./respectful', ?i$^2_{\text{ẹ}}$ '2nd/3rd pers-sing' following ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'to' > ?i$^3_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'to-you/he'.[16] The 1st person singular form ?yọ^{21} 'to-me' has no parallel subject or object pronoun. mslu^{34} ?wọ^3 'hats to-you-pl./respectful', kityi^3 ?ba^3 'paper to-we-exclusive', kwitu^{23} ?yọ^{21} 'chicken to-me', tš̌u?^{3} ?i$^2_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'pineapple to-you/he', š̌ni$^3_{\text{ẹ}}$?^{3} ?i$^2_{\text{ẹ}}$ 'dog to-you/he'. The possession indicator tagmeme occurs only in P_4 (see 2.1.4).

3.2.8. Possessor. This tagmeme is manifested by nouns from subclasses $W_{1\cdot 1}$, $W_{2\cdot 1}$, or $W_{4\cdot 2}$, or by P_1, P_2, P_3, or P_4. Por:$W_{1\cdot 1}$ (nọ^3 ?i$^1_{\text{ẹ}}$) nte$^{34}_{\text{ẹ}}$ '(thing to) people'

[16] See footnote 6.

(people's things), (šu̯ʔ^{4} ʔi̯^{1}) brenganu̯^{4} '(taste to) oregano'; Por:$W_{2\cdot1}$ (wta^{34} ʔi̯^{1}) šuwa '(ox to) Juan' (John's ox); Por: $W_{4\cdot2}$ (šni̯ʔ^{3}) ʔyo̯^{21} '(dog) to-me'; Por:$P_{1\cdot1}$ (wta^{34} ʔi̯^{1}) nu^{3} kiʔyu^{1} nde^{3} '(cow to) the-particular man this' (this man's cow); Por:$P_{1\cdot2}$ (no̯^{2} ʔi̯^{1}) neʔ^{3} ndu̯^{32} kwa^{3} '(thing to) person standing there' (that person over there's thing); Por:P_{2} (tu^{4} no̯ʔo̯^{3} ʔi̯^{1}) no̯ʔo̯^{3} tškwo̯^{43} '(door to) house metal' (gaol door); Por:P_{3} (tikyeʔ^{3} ʔi̯^{1}) yʔo̯^{1} rodi^{2} '(heat to) mother Rodrigo' (Roderick's mother's fever); Por:P_{4} (kwiyu^{34} ʔi̯^{1}) msu^{34} ʔi̯^{1} neʔ^{3} '(mule to) servant to person' (his servant's mule). The possessor tagmeme occurs only in P_{4} (see 2.1.4).

3.2.9. Addressee. This tagmeme is manifested by nouns from subclass $W_{2\cdot3}$: tše^{32} 'Friend' (used between men), škwe^{2} 'Friend' (used reciprocally between men in reply to tše^{32}), tšoʔ^{32} 'Friend' (used between women), no̯^{32} 'Mother', ta^{32} 'Father'. The addressee tagmeme occurs only in P_{5} (see 2.1.5).

3.2.10. Specifier. This tagmeme is manifested by certain nouns from subclass $W_{1\cdot1}$ or a restricted $P_{1\cdot1}$ consisting of the head tagmeme followed by one post-peripheral tagmeme. Examples of phrase P_{5} follow to demonstrate the function of this tagmeme.

(a)		tše^{32}	buru^{2}	(b)		škwe^{2}	woʔo^{34}
	P_{5} =	Ad	Sp:$W_{1\cdot1}$		P_{5} =	Ad	Sp:$W_{1\cdot1}$
		friend	Donkey			friend	Coyote
(c)		no̯^{32}	šuʔ^{2}	(d)		tše^{32}	šni̯ʔ^{3} ndaha^{3}
	P_{5} =	Ad	Sp:$W_{1\cdot1}$		P_{5} =	Ad	Sp:$P_{1\cdot1}$
		Mother	aged			friend	Dog Lazy
		Grandmother					

The specifier tagmeme occurs only in P_{5} (see 2.1.5). It is often found in Chatino folk stories where animals are the central characters.

3.2.11. Topic Head. This tagmeme is manifested by nouns from subclasses $W_{1\cdot1}$, $W_{1\cdot3}$, $W_{1\cdot5}$, or $P_{1\cdot1}$ or P_4. TopH:$W_{1\cdot1}$ tšk̆wo̱^{43} 'metal', kulantru^4 'coriander'; TopH:$W_{1\cdot3}$ ko^2 'cloud'; TopH:$W_{1\cdot5}$ tya^2 'squirrel'; TopH:$P_{1\cdot1}$ ska^3 tša?^{32} mštye^3 'one word crazy'; TopH:P_4 tyi^2 škwa^3 ?i̱^{1} ne?^{3} 'cook of person' (his cook). The topic head tagmeme occurs only in P_6 (see 2.1.6).

3.2.12. Apposition. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_3, or P_4. App:$P_{1\cdot3}$?ni^3 nu^3 ndo?o̱^{1} lo^3 yka^3 'animal which walks on tree', App:P_3 snye?^{32} se^4 'child-of José', App:P_4 nu kwiyu^{34} kila^3 ?i̱^{1} ne?^{3} 'the-particular mule male to person' (his horse). The apposition tagmeme occurs only in P_6 (see 2.1.6).

3.3. The phrase types in the prepositional class P_{10} (see 2.2) are without a periphery, so that all differentiating characteristics are found within the nuclei.

3.3.1. Negation. This tagmeme is manifested by the minor word ?a^4 ~ ha^4 'negation' from subclass $w_{03\cdot1}$ and occurs in $P_{11\cdot2}$ (see 2.2.1) and p_{04} (see 2.5.4).

3.3.2. Relator. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the relator$_1$ allotagma is manifested by an independent preposition from subclass $W_{14\cdot1}$ whereas the relator$_2$ allotagma is manifested only by the independent preposition lo?o^1 'with' from $W_{14\cdot1}$, which may not occur manifesting the relator$_1$ allotagma. Rel$_1$:$W_{14\cdot1}$?i̱^{1} 'to', lo^3 'on/in', tš̆u̱?^{23} 'behind'. The relator tagmeme occurs only in P_{11} (see 2.2.1).

3.3.3. Concomitant. This tagmeme is manifested by a locative noun from subclass $W_{1\cdot4}$, or P_1, P_2, P_3, or P_4. Com:$W_{1\cdot4}$ (ni?^{2}) lya^{32} '(inside) inside-church' (inside the church), Com:$P_{1\cdot2}$ (lo?o^1) nu^3 ki?yu^1 ndiya^{21} tnyi^{34} ?i̱^{2} '(with) the-particular male is-there money to-him' (with the

man who has the money), Com:P_2 (lo^3) $no_{\underset{\smile}{}}?o_{\underset{\smile}{}}^3$ $t\check{s}kwo_{\underset{\smile}{}}^{43}$ '(in) house metal' (at the gaol), Com:P_3 ($?i_{\underset{\smile}{}}^1$) sti^2 $ndre^4$ '(to) father André' (to Andrew's father), Com:P_4 (lo^3) $t\check{s}kwo_{\underset{\smile}{}}^{43}$ $?i_{\underset{\smile}{}}^1$ $ne?^3$ '(in) metal to person' (in his tin can). The concomitant tagmeme occurs only in P_{11} (see 2.2.1).

3.3.4. Director Preposition. This tagmeme is manifested by a minor word from subclass $w_{03\cdot 3}$: la^3 'towards', ti^3 'from'. The director preposition tagmeme occurs only in P_{12} (see 2.2.2).

3.3.5. Completor. This tagmeme is manifested by temporal nouns from class $W_{3\cdot 1}$, temporal particles from class W_{13}, or P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, or p_{03}, or by a stative clause (C_5). Cpr:$W_{3\cdot 1}$ (ti^2) $kwi?yu^1$ '(from) day-before-the-day-before-yesterday' (three days ago), (la^3) $tomiku^4$ '(towards) Sunday' (next Sunday); Cpr:W_{13} (la^3) $\check{s}iya?^2$ '(towards) another-once' (next time); Cpr:$P_{1\cdot 2}$ (ti^2) kwa^3 $ndi?i_{\underset{\smile}{}}^{43}$ $ruwe^4$ '(from) there living Rafael' (this way from the place where Ralph lives); Cpr:P_2 (la^3) $ko?^{12}$ $marsu^4$ '(towards) month March' (next March); Cpr:P_3 (la^3) $tiye^{32}$ $buru^2$ '(towards) stomach donkey' (up to the donkey's stomach); Cpr:P_4 (la^3) $hyo_{\underset{\smile}{}}^{12}$ $?no_{\underset{\smile}{}}^3$ '(towards) cornfield to-we-inclusive' (over in our cornfield); Cpr:p_{03} (ti^3) lti^3 ti^3 '(from) day-before-yesterday only' (just from the day before yesterday); Cpr:C_5 (ti^3) kwa^3 la^3 $t\check{s}i_{\underset{\smile}{}}?^1$ '(from) there more a-little' (It's away from there a little). The completor tagmeme occurs only in P_{12} (see 2.2.2).

3.4. The periphery of the predicate phrase consists of two pre-peripheral tagmemes and three post-peripheral tagmemes. The pre-periphery occurs with all of class P_{20} except P_{23} (see 2.3). All the peripheral tagmemes may occur simultaneously in a phrase, but this is unusual as the adverbial and modification tagmemes rarely occur together.

3.4.1. Negation-Completion. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor words ha^{4} ~ ʔa^{4} 'negation' or wa^{2} 'completion', from subclass $W_{03 \cdot 1}$, which act as predicate phrase-initial markers. The negation-completion tagmeme occurs in P_{21}, P_{22}, P_{24}, P_{25}, and P_{26} (see 2.3).

3.4.2. Adverbial. This tagmeme is manifested by descriptive particles from subclasses $W_{11 \cdot 2}$, $W_{11 \cdot 3}$, $W_{11 \cdot 6}$, $W_{11 \cdot 8}$, or $W_{11 \cdot 9}$, or by a temporal noun from subclass $W_{3 \cdot 1}$ or a temporal particle from class W_{13}, or by minor phrases p_{01} or p_{03}. Adv:$W_{11 \cdot 2}$ tʔnǫ^{2} 'poor', Adv:$W_{11 \cdot 3}$ tsa^{3} 'tight', Adv:$W_{11 \cdot 6}$ luwe^{2} 'small', Adv:$W_{11 \cdot 8}$ lye^{32} 'much', Adv:$W_{11 \cdot 9}$ tlyaʔ^{2} 'cold', Adv:$W_{3 \cdot 1}$ tsǫ^{23} 'day', Adv:W_{13} ndse^{3} 'quickly', Adv:p_{01} ndiʔya^{34} la^{2} 'pretty more', Adv:p_{03} kunu^{2} ti^{3} 'slight only'. Certain of the descriptive particles and p_{01} which manifest this tagmeme also manifest the modification post-peripheral tagmeme, though with a slight difference in meaning. Notice the following contrasting distributions and meanings in P_{24}.

(a)	wa^{2}	ngwǫ^{2}	ʔǫ^{3}	ndiya^{21}	ti^{43}	
P_{24} =	ncp	Adv		EH	ev	
	completion	like	that	is-belonging	em.-verbr.-I	
	I like (it) like that.					

(b)	wa^{2}	ndiya^{21}	ngwǫ^{2}	ʔǫ^{3}	ti^{43}	
P_{24} =	ncp	EH	Mod		ev	
	completion	is-belonging	like	that	em.-verbr.-I	
	I like (it) that much.					

Again, in P_{21},

(a)	mnǫ^{3}	ti^{3}	ndškwi^{1}
P_{21} =	Adv		PrH
	secretly	only	speaking-he
	He is speaking softly.		

(b) ndšk^wi?^{32} mnǫ^{3}
P_{21} = PrH Mod
speaking-he secretly
He is speaking in secret.

The adverbial tagmeme occurs in P_{21}, P_{22}, P_{24}, P_{25}, and P_{26} (see 2.3).

3.4.3. Degree. This tagmeme is manifested by subclass $w_{01 \cdot 1}$ of augmentative minor words: sa?a^{1} ~ ?a^{1} 'very/much' and la^{2} ~ ?a^{3} 'more'. The degree tagmeme occurs in P_{21}, P_{24}, $P_{25 \cdot 1}$, and P_{26} (see 2.3).

3.4.4. Modification. This tagmeme is manifested by descriptive particles from subclasses $W_{11 \cdot 7}$ and $W_{11 \cdot 8}$, or by p_{01}. Mod:$W_{11 \cdot 7}$ tšiǫ?^{1} 'a-little', lya^{1} 'hurrying'; Mod: $W_{11 \cdot 8}$ k^wǫ^{2} 'loudly'; Mod:p_{01} lye^{32} la^{2} 'much more'. As mentioned in the adverbial tagmeme description, there are certain descriptive particles which may manifest both the modification and the adverbial tagmemes, although not in the same phrase, such as: lye^{32} 'much', k^wǫ^{2} 'loudly', kwinyi^{3} 'fertile'. The modification tagmeme occurs in P_{21}, P_{24}, P_{25}, and P_{26} (see 2.3).

3.4.5. Limitation — see 3.1.10. The limitation tagmeme occurs in P_{21}, P_{22}, $P_{25 \cdot 1}$, and P_{26}.

3.5. Most of the characteristics differentiating the various phrase types in class P_{20} (see 2.3) are to be found in the nuclei. However, P_{23} is unique in occurring with no periphery, and P_{22} in occurring with the pre-periphery and one post-peripheral tagmeme only. Both P_{21} and P_{25} have only one nuclear tagmeme respectively, and P_{24} is distinguished by a discontinuous nucleus.

3.5.1. Predicate Head. This tagmeme is manifested by a major word from the hyperclass of verbs W_{20} excluding

classes W_{26}, W_{27}, and W_{28}, and subclass $W_{22 \cdot 3}$. PrH:W_{21} ndi?i^{32} 'is-living-he'; PrH:$W_{22 \cdot 1}$ lka^{43} 'is-being-he'; PrH:W_{23} ndo?o^{1} 'walking-he', ndyo?o^{32} 'walking-he, dir.', nda^{32} 'giving-he', ndya^{1} 'giving-he, dir.' (he is paying), ngiyo^{32} 'coming-he'; PrH:W_{24} ngite^{1} 'is-washing...'; PrH:W_{25} ku?ni^{1} 'will-make...' The predicate head tagmeme occurs only in P_{21} (see 2.3.1).

3.5.2. Qualified Predicate Head. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the qualified predicate head$_1$ allotagma is manifested by certain verbs from classes $W_{22 \cdot 1}$ or W_{23}, whereas the qualified predicate head$_2$ allotagma is manifested by certain other verbs from class W_{23}. $QPrH_1$:$W_{22 \cdot 1}$ lka^{43} 'is-being-he'; $QPrH_1$:W_{23} ngi?ni^{1} 'doing-he', nsu?wa^{1} 'putting/sending-he', nsi?yu^{32} 'cutting-he'; $QPrH_2$:W_{23} ngiya^{23} 'going-he', nsulu^{23} 'throwing-out-liquids-he', nšnyi^{32} 'taking-he, dir.', nšo?^{1} 'collecting-he (dir?)'. The qualified predicate head tagmeme occurs only in P_{22} (see 2.3.2).

3.5.3. Qualification. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the qualification$_1$ allotagma is manifested by certain nouns from subclasses $W_{1 \cdot 1}$ and $W_{1 \cdot 2}$, whereas the qualification$_2$ allotagma is manifested by certain verbs from class W_{21}. When manifesting this tagmeme referential verbs may occur only in the intentive aspect and the basic, i.e., non-directed, form. Qn_1:$W_{1 \cdot 1}$ ku?^{32} 'end/piece'; Qn_1:$W_{1 \cdot 2}$ lkwi^{2} 'picture-of', biya?^{2} 'measure-of/weight-of'; Qn_2:W_{21} (nsko?^{1}) ko?o^{32} '(tying-up) will-be-adjoining' (securely tied), (nšo?^{1}) ti?i^{32} '(collecting, dir.) will-be-living' (collecting up in one place), (ya^{43}) te?e^{32} '(went) will-be-staying' (went and fetched). The qualification tagmeme occurs only in P_{22} (see 2.3.2).

3.5.4. Affirmed Predicate Head. This tagmeme is manifested by certain verbs from classes W_{21}, W_{22}, W_{23}, or

W_{24}. When manifesting this tagmeme verbs may occur only in the intentive aspect and directed form, if the verb has such in the intentive aspect: kya^{32} 'will-go-he, dir.', šnyi^{32} 'will-take-he, dir.', škwa^{32} 'will-lay-down-he, dir.', ka^{32} 'will-be-he'. The affirmed predicate head tagmeme occurs only in P_{23} (see 2.3.3).

3.5.5. Certainty. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor word tu?^{32} 'for-sure' from subclass $w_{03 \cdot 2}$. Both the verb manifesting the affirmed predicate head tagmeme and this word tu?^{32} take the fused person-markers of first person singular and second/third person singular: (škwo^{1}) tu?^{43} '(I-will-lie-down, dir.) I-for-sure' (I will certainly lie down), (kya^{32}) tu?^{32} '(he/you-will-go, dir.) he/you-for-sure' (He/you are going for certain), (tyu?wi^{1}) tu?^{32} '(there-will-be-it, dir.) it-for-sure' (It's all right to put it there). The certainty tagmeme occurs only in P_{23} (see 2.3.3).

3.5.6. Emotional Head. This tagmeme is manifested by verbs from class W_{27}. Words from type $W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$ remain uninflected in this position but words from both $W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$ and $W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 3}$ take the usual aspect prefixes occurring on verbs. EH:$W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$ tlyu^{3} (ti?^{32}) 'big (em.-verbr.-he)' (he is proud); EH:$W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$ ša^{2} (ti?^{32}) 'light/brightness (em.-verbr.-he)' (he will wake up), ndška^{43} (ti?^{32}) 'being, dir. (em.-verbr.-he)' (he is wanting); EH:$W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 3}$ ndi?i^{43} (ti?^{32}) 'is-living (em.-verbr.-he)' (he is feeling); EH:$W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 4}$ ndiki^{1} (ti?^{32}) 'burning-with-flame (em.-verbr.-he)' (he is angry). The emotional head tagmeme occurs only in P_{24} (see 2.3.4).

3.5.7. Emotional Verbaliser. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor word ti?^{32} 'emotional verbaliser' from the subclass $w_{03 \cdot 2}$. In a phrase it is this word ti?^{32} which takes the fused person markers, while the word mani-

festing the emotional head tagmeme takes the verb aspect markers.[17] (nša^2) ti?^{43} '(continuative-light) em.-verbr.-I' (I am waking up), (tiki^{32}) ti?^{32} '(intentive-burning) em.-verbr.-he/you' (he/you will be angry), (mdi?i^{43}) ti?^{32} '(completive was-living) em.-verbr.-I' (I felt). The emotional verbaliser tagmeme occurs only in P_{24} (see 2.3.4).

3.5.8. Stative Head. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the stative $head_1$ allotagma is manifested by all descriptive particles of class W_{11} except $W_{11\cdot1}$ or $W_{11\cdot7}$, by temporal particles of class W_{13}, by verbs of class W_{28}, or demonstrative pronouns of subclass $W_{4\cdot3}$, whereas the stative $head_2$ allotagma is manifested by p_{01}. Although acting as predicates these words do not take verb aspect prefixes. SH_1: $W_{11\cdot2}$ t?no^2 'poor'; SH_1:$W_{11\cdot3}$ še?o^{34} 'wicked/bad'; SH_1: $W_{11\cdot4}$ kula^3 'old'; SH_1:$W_{11\cdot5}$ kwa^2 'mauve/purple'; SH_1: $W_{11\cdot6}$ tnu^3 'huge'; SH_1:$W_{11\cdot8}$ kwinyi^3 'fertile'; SH_1:$W_{11\cdot9}$ tlya?^{2} 'cold'; SH_1:W_{13} š?ni^1 'another-long-time', ši?i^4 'little-while'; SH_1:W_{28} su^2 'lying'; SH_1:$W_{4\cdot3}$ nde^3 'here'; SH_2:p_{01} ku?tsi^2 la^2 ti^3 'yellowest', lyu?^{1} la^3 'lesser'. The stative head tagmeme occurs only in P_{25} (see 2.3.5).

3.5.9. Auxiliar. This tagmeme is manifested by the auxiliary class of verbs W_{25} which do not take the fused person markers: tsa^{43} 'will-go', ndška^{43} 'being,dir.', ku?ni^{32} 'will-make'. The auxiliar tagmeme occurs only in P_{26} (see 2.3.6).

3.5.10. Head to the Auxiliar. This tagmeme is manifested by limited lists of each of the verb classes W_{21}, W_{22}, W_{23}, and W_{24}, or by P_{24}, or by a further P_{26}. AH:W_{21} (kya^{43}) ndi?o^1 '(will-go,dir.) is-adjoining-he,dir.' (he follows); AH:W_{23} (ndška^{43}) nsi?yu^{32} '(being,dir.) cutting-he' (he can

[17] From comparison with the related Otomangian languages Trique and Mixtec it appears that historically the word ti?^{32} comes from the word meaning 'seat of the emotions', but now occurs only in P_{24}.

cut); AH:P_{24} (tsa^{43}) ndi?o^{1} ti?^{32} '(will-go) is-adjoining, dir. em.-verbr.-he' (he will believe); AH:P_{26} (ka^{43}) ku?ni^{32} šo?o^{1} '(will-be) will-make will-change' (he will be able to learn). The head to the auxiliar tagmeme occurs only in P_{26} (see 2.3.6).

3.6. As in class P_{10}, the general phrase types of class P_{30} (see 2.4) are without a periphery so that all differentiating characteristics are found within the nuclei.

3.6.1. Specification. This tagmeme is manifested by a temporal noun of subclass $W_{3.1}$ or by P_2. Sp:$W_{3.1}$ kya^{43} 'tomorrow', ka^{3} 'yesterday', ni^{2} 'today/now', luni^{3} 'Monday', tomiku^{4} 'Sunday'; Sp:P_2 ta?a^{3} š?no^{2} 'feast master' (feast of the Chief, 16th of September). This tagmeme gives a reference point in time. The specification tagmeme occurs only in P_{31} (see 2.4.1).

3.6.2. Completion. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor word wa^{2} 'completion' from subclass $w_{03.1}$. This minor word also occurs in the pre-periphery of the predicate phrase. The completion tagmeme occurs only in P_{31} (see 2.4.1).

3.6.3. Temporal Head. This tagmeme is manifested by a temporal noun from subclass $W_{3.1}$ or a temporal particle from class W_{13}, or by P_1 or p_{03}. TH:$W_{3.1}$ tso^{23} 'day', sadu^{4} 'Saturday'; TH:W_{13} s?ni^{2} 'long ago'; TH:P_1 snu?^{2} tso^{23} 'eight days'; TH:p_{03} tla^{4} ti^{3} 'night only'. The temporal head tagmeme occurs only in P_{31} (see 2.4.1).

3.6.4. Specifying Number. This tagmeme is manifested by the numerals of subclasses $W_{12.1}$ and $W_{12.2}$, or by P_{33}, or the numeral referential minor clause (c_{04}) which go to make up the numerals 'one' to 'thirty-one', or by two verb derivatives: kulo^{32} 'first', tyi^{1} 'end, last' from subclass

$W_{12 \cdot 5}$. The specifying number tagmeme occurs only in P_{32} (see 2.4.2).

3.6.5. Calendar Relational. This tagmeme is manifested only by the independent preposition lo^3 'in/on' from subclass $W_{14 \cdot 1}$. The calendar relational tagmeme occurs only in P_{32} (see 2.4.2).

3.6.6. Determinator. This tagmeme is manifested either by the nouns $ko?^{12}$ 'month' or $yiho^3$ 'year' from subclass $W_{3 \cdot 1}$, or by P_2, of which the nouns $ko?^{12}$ or $yiho^3$ manifest the quality head tagmeme. Det:P_2 $ko?^{12}$ $mayu^4$ 'month May', $ko?^{12}$ $?abri^4$ 'month April', $yiho^3$ kwi^3 'year new'. The determinator tagmeme occurs only in P_{32} (see 2.4.2).

3.6.7. Numeric. This tagmeme is manifested by the base subclass of numerals $W_{12 \cdot 1}$, i.e., 10, 15, 20, 40. The numeric tagmeme occurs only in P_{33} (see 2.4.3).

3.6.8. Addition. This tagmeme is manifested by the numeral subclass $W_{12 \cdot 3}$ or the numerals $ti?yu^1$ 'fifteen' and $ka?yu^1$ 'five' from subclasses $W_{12 \cdot 1}$ and $W_{12 \cdot 2}$ respectively and marked by prefix n- 'plus'. Examples of phrase P_{33} follow to demonstrate the function of this tagmeme.

(a) P_{33} = Nc: ti^2 'ten'; An: $tyukwa^1$ 'another-two' — twelve

(b) P_{33} = Nc: $tu?wa^1$ 'forty'; An: $nga?yu^{32}$ 'plus-five' — forty-five

(c) P_{33} = Nc: $kala^4$ 'twenty'; An: $ndi?yu^{32}$ 'plus-fifteen' — thirty-five

The addition tagmeme occurs only in P_{33} (see 2.4.3).

3.6.9. Interrogative Head. This tagmeme is manifested by the relative-interrogative subclass of relator particles $W_{14 \cdot 4}$: ni^3 'what?', la^3 'direction?', lo^3 'where?'. The interrogative head tagmeme occurs only in P_{34} (see 2.4.4).

3.6.10. Interrogative Completor. This tagmeme is manifested by certain nouns, verbs, or particles[18] which, by modifying the basic interrogative words manifesting the interrogative head tagmeme, derive all the question forms necessary for communication. ItgC (ni^3) nyo̱?o̱^{4} '(what?) kind-of', (lo^3) ya^{32} '(where?) went' (where abouts?), (ni^3) ngwa?^{4} '(what?) meaning-uncertain' (when?). The interrogative completor tagmeme occurs only in P_{34} (see 2.4.4).

3.7. Like the major phrase classes P_{10} and P_{30}, the minor phrase class p_{00} has no periphery (see 2.5). Each minor phrase consists of one major word which may be modified by one or more minor words. The single phrase stress always occurs on the major word in the expression.

3.7.1. Qualifier Head. This tagmeme is manifested by all descriptive particles in class W_{11}, or by temporal particles of class W_{13}, or demonstrative pronouns of subclass $W_{4 \cdot 3}$. QrH:W_{11} ngate̱^{23} 'white', l?we^3 'half', tiya?^{32} 'clever', lyu?^{1} 'small'; QrH:W_{13} šši?i^4 'little-while'; QrH:$W_{4 \cdot 3}$ kwa^3 'there'. The qualifier head tagmeme occurs only in p_{01} (see 2.5.1).

3.7.2. Comparative. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor word la^2 'more' from subclass $w_{01 \cdot 2}$. cve: (ngate̱^{23}) la^2 'whiter', (l?we^3) la^2 '(half) more' (middle),

[18] A new word class of interrogative modifiers could be posited to cover the words manifesting the interrogative completor tagmeme, which would be W_{15}. Most of these words occur in other classes except those of uncertain meaning, and it is felt that further investigation is necessary to form a final conclusion.

(tiya?^{32}) la^{2} 'cleverer', (lyu?^{1}) la^{2} 'lesser', (šiʔi^{4}) la^{2} 'shorter-while' (sooner), (tla^{4}) la^{2} 'darker', (kwa^{3}) la^{2} '(that-way) more'. The comparative tagmeme occurs only in p_{01} (see 2.5.1).

3.7.3. Superlative. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor word ti^{3} 'most' from subclass $w_{01\cdot 2}$, which must be preceded by the minor word la^{2} 'more' manifesting the comparative tagmeme. sve: (ngatę^{23} la^{2}) ti^{3} 'whitest', (lʔwe^{3} la^{2}) ti^{3} '(half) most' (exactly-in-the-middle), (tiya?^{32} la^{2}) ti^{3} 'cleverest', (lyu?^{1} la^{2}) ti^{3} 'least', (šiʔi^{4} la^{2}) ti^{3} 'shortest-while' (soonest), (tla^{4} la^{2}) ti^{3} 'darkest', (kwa^{3} la^{2}) ti^{3} '(that-way) more still'. The superlative tagmeme occurs only in p_{01} (see 2.5.1).

3.7.4. Classification. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the classification$_1$ allotagma is manifested by the minor words tu^{3} and la^{3} 'classifier' from subclass $w_{02\cdot 1}$, which together with the major word manifestation of the nominal head$_1$ allotagma have a meaning quite different from, although related to, the meaning of the major word alone; the classification$_2$ allotagma is manifested by the minor word tšaʔ^{3} 'classifier, thing' from subclass $w_{02\cdot 1}$. The minor word tu^{3} has a meaning on the order of 'into'. It has been impossible to assign a plausible meaning to la^{3}. The minor word tšaʔ^{3} 'thing' does not modify the meaning of the major word following, but perhaps designates it as a living animal. The classification tagmeme occurs only in p_{02} (see 2.5.2).

3.7.5. Nominal Head. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the nominal head$_1$ allotagma is manifested by limited classes of nouns and verbs or by other morphemes of indeterminate class, whereas the nominal head$_2$ allotagma is manifested by a subclass of animate common nouns, $W_{1\cdot 5}$. NoH_1: (tu^{3}) yu^{2} '(classifier) ground' (hole in the ground),

(tu^3) $ku?^{32}$ '(classifier) end' (tip, point - as of a tree or stick), (la^3) $kwi?ya^1$ '(classifier) will-carry' (bird of prey - as eagle), (la^3) lya^2 '(classifier) meaning-uncertain' (opossum), (la^3) $šu^2$ '(classifier) meaning-uncertain' (buzzard); $NoH_2:W_{1.5}$ ($tša?^3$) $kwitši^3$ '(classifier) rabbit' (differentiated from $kwitši^3$ 'witch'), ($tša?^3$) tya^1 '(classifier) squirrel', ($tša?^3$) $kute^{34}$ '(classifier) pigeon' (differentiated from $kute^{34}$ 'rocket'), ($tša?^3$) $ntši^{32}$ '(classifier) praying-mantis'. The nominal head tagmeme occurs only in p_{02} (see 2.5.2).

3.7.6. Limited Head. This tagmeme is manifested by a noun of classes W_3 and $W_{4.3}$, or certain particles from classes W_{11}, W_{12}, or W_{13}. LH:W_3 tla^4 (ti^3) 'night (only)' (just at night), LH:$W_{4.3}$ nde^3 (ti^3) 'here (only)' (just here), LH:W_{11} $mnǫ^3$ (ti^3) 'secretly (only)' (softly), LH:W_{12} $tukwa^1$ (ti^3) 'two (only)' (just two), LH:W_{13} $ši?i^4$ (ti^3) 'little-while (only)' (quickly). The limited head tagmeme occurs only in p_{03} (see 2.5.3).

3.7.7. Limitation. This is the same tagmeme that also occurs as phrase-termination boundary marker in the noun and predicate phrases (see 3.1.10). The limitation tagmeme is nuclear to p_{03} but peripheral elsewhere (see 2.5.3).

3.7.8. Negation — see 3.3.1.

3.7.9. Negated Head. This tagmeme is manifested by the noun $tukwi^2_ǫ$ 'meaning-uncertain' or the numeral ska^3 'one' from subclass $W_{12.2}$. Examples of p_{04} follow demonstrating the function of this tagmeme.

(a)		$?a^4$	ska^2	(b)	$?a^4$	$tukwi^2_ǫ$
p_{04} =	n	NegH	p_{04} =	n	NegH	
	negation	one		negation	meaning-uncertain	
	no one, nothing				nobody	

The negated head tagmeme occurs only in p_{04} (see 2.5.4).

3.7.10. Augmentation. This tagmeme is manifested only by the minor word ʔa^3 'more' from subclass $w_{01\cdot 1}$. This minor word also occurs in the post-periphery of the predicate phrase. The augmentation tagmeme occurs only in p_{04} (see 2.5.4).

4. Clause Types

There are both major and minor clauses. The major clauses are independent, symbiotic, or subordinate. There are four major classes, two of which are independent, and one minor class: basic clause class (C_0), directed clause class (C_{10}), symbiotic clause class (C_{20}), subordinate clause class (C_{30}) and minor clause class (c_{00}). Any independent clause may manifest a primary sentence (S_1) or a complete discourse. A symbiotic clause may also manifest S_1, but never as the initiating clause in a complex discourse, and only as a single sentence utterance in reiteration or agreement with the preceding linguistic context. A subordinate clause is formally rendered dependent by a subordinator, and manifests only a clause- or colon-level tagmeme. A minor clause is defective in one nuclear tagmeme and/or certain peripheral tagmemes, and manifests only a phrase-level tagmeme.

In Chatino the tagmeme order is fixed and any change in order has definite meaning. In clauses the predicate tagmeme occurs first except when some other tagmeme is to be emphasised. For emphasis a tagmeme precedes the predicate, and occasionally two tagmemes may precede the predicate simultaneously in which case they retain their relative orbit regarding the predicate as the core and the other tagmemes as its satellites. A tagmeme may also precede the predicate if it is manifested by a relatively long expression, but this expansion is usually also for emphasis.

There are three sets of contrastive criteria which apply to clauses within what might be termed a three-dimensional matrix. The primary distinction is between the action, referential, equational, stative, speech, affirmation, and reflexive types. A second distinction is between major and minor types, but this applies only to action and referential.

There are two action minor types and two referential minor types. A third distinction is between basic types and directed types, which applies to all but the reflexive and affirmation which are undifferentiated in this respect. The action, referential, and equational types have both basic and directed forms in contrast, but the stative and speech types occur only in the basic form. In the directed form of the verb an infix -y- occurs, and the set of aspect prefixes may also change. The infix -y- has a meaning on the order of 'attention focus on the following goal'. Thus a basic action clause like

ndo?o^{1}	buru^{34}	la^{3}	lyu^{21}	wtyi^{3}	bra^{3}	ko?^{2}
A	S	L			B	
emerging	donkey	towards	ground	dry	hour	that

The donkey came out onto dry land then.

may be compared with a directed action clause such as

tihyu?^{3}	sa?a^{1}	ndyo?o^{1}		ško?^{2}	kata^{4}
L	[DA	PnS]		G	
far	very	emerging-2nd/3rd person, dir.		blouse-of	Cata

Cata's blouse came from far away.

The verb ndo?o 'coming-out' is a verb of action, and presumably a blouse cannot move of its own volition; there must be an agent to move it. The -y- infix in that instance appears to have a causitive function as well as indicating that the expression following immediately after this marked verb is not the specified subject but the goal, i.e., the attention focus is directed to the goal. Again, compare the basic action clause

tyu^{3}	ne?^{3}	kwa^{3}	ndo?o^{1}	yu^{3}	?i^{1}	ne?^{3}
S			A	L		
several	person	there	are-walking	ground	to	person

Several people are walking over their land over there.

with the directed action clause

lo?o^{1} sti^{2}	ndyo?o^{32}	tnyo^{32}
Acc	[DA PnS]	G
with father-his	walking-he,dir.	work

He went to work with his father.

The verb ndo?o 'walking' is also a verb of motion but in this instance of the directed form the subject is not caused to walk but again the attention focus is directed to the following goal, i.e., tnyo^{32} 'work'.

The subordinate type is extra-systemic to this matrix since a subordinator may precede any basic or directed type resulting in a subordinate clause in which no structural change has occurred within the independent clause, but the subordinator has been added.

4.1. There are five clause types in class C_0, each having both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes. Four are clearly basic types but C_4, which is undifferentiated as to basic-directed, is grouped here as well. Most of the differentiating characteristics occur in the nuclei of these clauses as there is a common inventory of peripheral tagmemes, although there are some restrictions concerning these six peripheral tagmemes.

4.1.1. C_1, the basic action clause, consists of four nuclear tagmemes and the periphery. Of these only two of the nuclear tagmemes are obligatory and all other tagmemes are optional. C_1 may be graphically represented thus:

$$C_1 = (+\,A \quad +\,S \quad \pm\,O \quad \pm\,IO) \quad \pm\,L \quad \pm\,Acc \quad \pm\,Ins \quad \pm\,T^2 \quad \pm\,M \quad \pm\,B$$

The nucleus consists of the obligatory action tagmeme manifested by phrases from class P_{20}, in which the verb is in the basic form (see 5.2.1); followed by the obligatory subject tagmeme manifested by a phrase of class P_0 or P_{33}, and/or

by a pronominal tone marker[19] on the predicate, or words of classes W_4, W_{12}, and w_{04}, or by a minor clause c_{04} (see 5.2.2); followed by the optional object tagmeme manifested by a phrase of class P_0, or P_{33}, p_{03}, or by the minor clause c_{04} (see 5.2.3); followed by the optional indirect object tagmeme manifested by $P_{11\cdot 1}$ or the $W_{4\cdot 2}$ subclass of pronouns (see 5.3.4). The periphery consists of the optional location tagmeme manifested by phrases of classes P_0 and P_{10}, or by minor phrases p_{01} or p_{03}, or by nouns from subclasses $W_{1\cdot 6}$ and $W_{2\cdot 4}$ (see 5.1.1); followed by the optional accompaniment tagmeme manifested by $P_{11\cdot 2}$ (see 5.1.2); followed by the optional instrument tagmeme manifested by $P_{11\cdot 2}$ or a phrase from class P_0 (see 5.1.3); followed by the optional time tagmeme (which may occur twice in one clause) manifested by P_1, P_2, P_{12}, P_{31}, P_{32}, C_5, or C_{31}, or by temporal words from classes W_3 or W_{13} (see 5.1.4); followed by the optional manner tagmeme manifested by p_{03} or a particle from class W_{11} (see 5.1.5); followed by the optional boundary tagmeme manifested by the phrase bra^3 ko̱ʔ^2 'hour that-particular' (then) (see 5.1.6). Examples of C_1 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) wa^2 ndihi̱^{32} ska^3 yu^3 kiʔyu^1 hyo̱^{12} ʔi̱^{1} neʔ^3
C_1 = A:P_{21} S:$P_{1\cdot 1}$ L:P_4
completion passing one man male cornfield to person

loʔo^1 šniʔ^3 ʔi̱^{1} neʔ^3 ka^3 si̱^{2} bra^3 ko̱ʔ^2
Acc T:P_2 B
with dog to person yesterday evening then
The man was passing through his cornfield last evening with his dog then.

(b) nda^{43} nu^2 šniʔ^3 ndaha^3 ska^3 ha^3 štlya^{34}
C_1 = A:P_{21} S:P_1 O:P_1
giving the-particular dog lazy one tortilla Spanish

[19] When the subject tagmeme is manifested only by the pronominal tone marker on the verb, both the action and subject tagmemes are together manifested by the one word.

ʔi̱^{1}	nu^{3}	ʔo^{34}	bra^{3}	ko̱ʔ^{2}
IO: $P_{11 \cdot 1}$			B	
to	the-particular	coyote	then	

The lazy dog gave a sweetbread to the coyote then.

(c)	ni^{2}	ha^{4}	skwe̱^{43}	ne?^{2}	kwa^{3}	lo^{3}	yka^{3}	šiya?^{2}
C_1 =	T: $W_{3 \cdot 1}$	A: P_{21}		S: $P_{1 \cdot 1}$		L: P_{11}		T: $W_{13 \cdot 2}$
	now	negation	will-climb	person	there	in	tree	again

They will not climb up the tree again <u>now</u>.

While no two peripheral tagmemes are mutually exclusive and it is theoretically possible for all to occur in the same clause, it is usual to have no more than three optional tagmemes occurring with the two obligatory ones.

4.1.2. C_2, <u>the basic referential clause</u>, consists of three nuclear tagmemes and a restricted periphery. Of these only two nuclear tagmemes are obligatory and all other tagmemes are optional.[20] C_2 may be graphically represented thus:

$$C_2 = (+\ RA \quad +\ S \quad \pm\ R) \quad \pm \text{ periphery } [-\ L \quad -\ Ins]$$

The obligatory referred action tagmeme manifested by a phrase from class P_{20}, in which the verb is from the referential class and in the basic form (see 5.2.5), is followed by the obligatory subject tagmeme (see 5.2.2); followed by an optional reference tagmeme[21] manifested by P_{11} or a phrase

[20] In analysing this clause type two difficulties are encountered, (i) that of distinguishing between the subject tagmeme manifested by the possessive noun phrase II (P_4) and the subject tagmeme followed by the reference tagmeme when the latter is manifested by the relational phrase (P_{11}), (ii) that of distinguishing between the reference and location tagmemes.

[21] The particular referential verb occurring as head of the phrase manifesting the referred action tagmeme determines the kind of referent occurring as the reference tagmeme, so that ndiya^{21} 'is-belonging' has an animate, usually human, referent. Further investigation is necessary to determine the extent of these lexical co-occurrence restrictions.

from class P_0, or a pronoun from subclass $W_{4\cdot 2}$ (see 5.2.6); followed by the optional restricted periphery which excludes the location and instrument tagmemes. Usually no more than two peripheral tagmemes occur in a given example[22] of C_2. Examples of C_2 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ndi?i^{43} nte^{34} kune?^{1} ti^{2} tyi^{2}
C_2 = RA:P_{21} S:$P_{1\cdot 1}$ R:P_2
is-living people young rope own
Very young people live attached to their umbilical cords.

(b) ndiya^{1} ska^{2} kaha^{4} ?yo^{21} nde^{3}
C_2 = RA:P_{21} S:P_1 R:$W_{4\cdot 2}$ L:$W_{4\cdot 3}$
is-belonging one box to-me here
I have a box here.

(c) nsu?wi^{32} ki^{2} tlo^{32} wa^{2} ka?yu^{43} tso^{23} bra^{3} ko?^{2}
C_2 = RA:P_{21} S:P_1 R:P_1 T:P_{31} B
there-is swelling face-her completion five day then
Her face has been swollen for five days.

4.1.3. C_3, the basic equational clause, consists of three nuclear tagmemes and a restricted periphery. Of these, only two nuclear tagmemes are obligatory and all other tagmemes are optional. The order of the nuclear tagmemes in C_3 is fixed so that the equational subject tagmeme never precedes the equation tagmeme as the subject tagmeme may precede the action tagmeme in C_1 or the referred action tagmeme in C_2 for emphasis. C_3 may be graphically represented thus:

C_3 = ($\pm$ Cop + E + ES) $\pm$ periphery [-Ins]

The optional complement tagmeme manifested by P_1 or by a pronoun of subclass $W_{4\cdot 1}$ (see 5.2.7) is followed by the obligatory equation tagmeme manifested by P_{21} or P_{26} in which the predicate head is from the equational class and in

[22] See end of the description of C_1.

the basic form (see 5.2.8), followed by the obligatory equational subject tagmeme manifested by a phrase from class P_0 or a pronoun (see 5.2.9), followed by the optional restricted periphery which excludes the instrument tagmeme. Usually no more than two peripheral tagmemes occur in any one clause. Examples of C_3 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ne?^{3} kuliya?^{32} lka^4 nu^3 ki?yu^1 kwa^3
C_3 = Cop:$P_{1\cdot 1}$ E:P_{21} ES:$P_{1\cdot 1}$
person rich is the-particular male that

lo^3 yka^3 štlya^{34}
L:$P_{1\cdot 1}$
on wood Spanish
That man on the chair is a rich person.

(b) ?ni^3 ha^4 ?ni^1 la^{21} lka^4 nu?wi$^2_{\mathfrak{c}}$
C_3 = Cop:$P_{1\cdot 2}$ E:P_{21} ES:$W_{4\cdot 1}$
animal negation make fierce is you-familiar
You are an animal that is never fierce.

(c) no$^2_{\mathfrak{c}}$ lko$^1_{\mathfrak{c}}$ msu^{34} ?i$^1_{\mathfrak{c}}$ yu^3 ni^2
C_3 = Cop:$W_{4\cdot 1}$ E:P_{21} ES:P_4 T:$W_{3\cdot 1}$
I am-I servant to man now
I am the man's servant now.

4.1.4. C_4, the reflexive clause, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes and a periphery. There is no subject tagmeme; rather the logical subject of the verb is the possessor of the object. The order of the nuclear tagmemes is fixed and may not be changed for emphasis. C_4 may be graphically represented thus:

$$C_4 = (+\ \text{RefA} \quad +\ \text{POb}) \pm \text{periphery [-Acc]}$$

The obligatory reflexive action tagmeme manifested by P_{21}, in which the verb is from the reflexive class W_{24} (see 5.2.10), is followed by the obligatory possessed object tagmeme manifested by P_3 or P_4 (see 5.2.11), followed by the

optional periphery except the accompaniment tagmeme. No more than two peripheral tagmemes may occur in any given example, of which one is usually time. Examples of C_4 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ngite$_{\text{ɛ}}^{1}$ ste?^{3} nu^{3} kwo$_{\text{ɛ}}$?o$_{\text{ɛ}}^{1}$ tšku^{1} kwa^{3}
C_4 = RefA:P_{21} POb:P_3 L:$P_{1\cdot 1}$
washing clothes-of the-particular female spring there
The women are washing their clothes at that spring.

(b) kwi?^{2} lya^{1} bra^{34} ku^{32} tlya^{32} o$_{\text{ɛ}}^{2}$
C_4 = T:C_5 RefA:P_{21} POb:P_3
same immediately hour will-eat dinner-of our-inclusive
It is the time we eat our dinner.

(c) tyo?o^{32} kšu^{34} ?i$_{\text{ɛ}}^{1}$ ne?^{3} bra^{3} ko$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{2}
C_4 = RefA:P_{21} POb:P_4 B
will-emerge,dir. cheese to person then
then their cheese will be ready

4.1.5. C_5, the stative clause, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes and a periphery. The order of the nuclear tagmemes is fixed and, unlike some other clause types in class C_0, the subject tagmeme may not precede the stative predicate for emphasis.[23] Clauses of this type, which often

[23] The inversion of word order in C_5 gives an attributive noun phrase (P_1). An example follows.

ngate$_{\text{ɛ}}^{23}$ te?^{34} nde^{3}
C_5 = [SPr:P_{25} S:$P_{1\cdot 1}$]
white cloth this
This cloth is white.

When inverted gives te?^{34} ngate$_{\text{ɛ}}^{23}$ nde^{3}
$P_{1\cdot 1}$ = [H:$W_{1\cdot 1}$ Col:$W_{11\cdot 5}$ Dem:$W_{4\cdot 3}$]
cloth white this
this white cloth

occur without any peripheral tagmemes, tend to be shorter than any other type in classes C_0 and C_{10}. C_5 may be graphically represented thus:

C_5 = (+ SPr + S) $\pm$ periphery

The obligatory stative predicate tagmeme manifested by P_{25} (see 5.2.12) is followed by the obligatory subject tagmeme (see 5.2.2), followed by the optional periphery which may not exceed two tagmemes in a given example. Examples of C_5 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) šiyu?^{3} ?a^1 nu^3 luwe^2 ti^3
C_5 = SPr S:P_1
badly-behaved very the-particular small only
The children are very badly behaved.

(b) ha^4 tsu?we^{32} ?a^3 mǫkinǫ^4 ni^2
C_5 = SPr S:$P_{2\cdot 2}$ T:$W_{3\cdot 1}$
negation good more machine now
The machine is no longer any good.

(c) ha^4 kye?^{1} lye^{32}
C_5 = [SPr S:pronominal tone]
negation difficult-it much
It is not very difficult.

4.2. There are three clause types in class C_{10} and all are characterised by the goal focus given by the directed verb. Each type has both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes. The periphery is the same as that of class C_0. The order of the nuclear tagmemes is fixed, and may not be changed for emphasis as in the parallel basic clauses except for the referential tagmeme in C_{12}. The goal tagmeme, although optional, usually occurs in clause types of this class. Where it is not manifested overtly, it is clearly understood from the preceding context.

4.2.1. C_{11}, the directed action clause, consists of four

nuclear tagmemes, of which two are obligatory, and the optional periphery. C_{11} may be graphically represented thus:

$$C_{11} = (+ \text{DA} \quad + \text{PnS} \quad \pm \text{G} \quad \pm \text{SE/IO}) \quad \pm \text{periphery}$$

The obligatory directed action tagmeme, manifested by a phrase from class P_{20}, in which the verb is in the directed form (see 5.3.1), is followed by the obligatory pronominal subject tagmeme manifested by a pronoun of subclass w_{04} or by a pronominal tone marker on the predicate (see 5.3.2); followed by the optional goal tagmeme on which the attention is focussed and which is manifested by $P_{11 \cdot 1}$, P_{12}, or a phrase from class P_0, or by a pronoun from subclass $W_{4 \cdot 2}$ (see 5.3.3); followed by either the optional subject expansion tagmeme manifested by P_1, P_3, or P_4 (see 5.3.4) or the optional indirect object tagmeme (see 5.2.4); followed by the optional periphery which usually includes no more than four peripheral tagmemes in a given example. Examples of C_{11} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) nšiʔyu^{32} neʔ^{3} yka^{3} loʔo^{1} taʔa^{23} loʔo^{1} siyera^{4}
C_{11} = DA: P_{21} PnS: w_{04} G: P_1 Acc Ins: $P_{11 \cdot 2}$
cutting, dir. person wood with relative with saw

ka^{3} si$^{2}_{\varrho}$ bra^{3} koʔ^{2}
T: P_2 B
yesterday evening then
He and his brother were cutting up wood last evening then using a saw.

(b) šiyaʔ^{2} mykwo$^{1}_{\varrho}$ ʔi$^{1}_{\varrho}$ yu^{3}
C_{11} = T: $W_{13 \cdot 2}$ [DA: P_{21} PnS: pronominal tone] G: $P_{11 \cdot 1}$
again hit-he, dir. to man
He was caused to hit the man again.

(c) ngwo$^{2}_{\varrho}$ ʔo$^{3}_{\varrho}$ ngiyo$^{32}_{\varrho}$ la^{2} nde^{3}
C_{11} = [DA: P_{21} PnS: pronominal tone] G: P_{12}
like that coming-it, dir. towards here

nu^{3} buru^{2} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2}
SE:P_1 B
the-particular donkey then
That's the way the donkey came over here.

4.2.2. C_{12}, the directed referential clause, consists of five nuclear tagmemes, of which two are obligatory, and the optional periphery. C_{12} may be graphically represented thus:

C_{12} = (± GE + DR + PnS ± G ± SE/R) ± periphery

The optional goal expansion tagmeme manifested by P_1 (see 5.3.5) is followed by the obligatory directed referential tagmeme manifested by P_{21}, P_{24}, or P_{26}, in which the verb is from the referential class and in the directed form (see 5.3.6); followed by the obligatory pronominal subject tagmeme (see 5.3.2); followed by the optional goal tagmeme (see 5.3.3); followed optionally by either the subject expansion tagmeme (see 5.3.4) or the reference tagmeme (see 5.2.6); followed by the optional periphery in which, like C_{11}, no more than four peripheral tagmemes usually occur in a given example. Examples of C_{12} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) tyukwa^{43} tšį?^{1} yka^{3} štlya^{34}
C_{12} = [DR:P_{21} PnS:pronominal tone] G:$P_{1\cdot 1}$
will-be-on-you,dir. a-little wood Spanish
You will sit down for a little on the chair.

(b) ha^{4} ndyu?wi^{32} ?a^{3} šą^{2} ni?^{3} kye^{3}
C_{12} = [DR:P_{21} PnS:pronominal tone] G:P_1 L:$P_{11\cdot 1}$
negation is-there-it,dir. more brightness inside stone
There is no light (caused to be) inside the rock any more.

(c) ?ni^{3} nu^{3} nǫ^{2} kwityi?^{32} ?į^{2} tšku^{1}
C_{12} = GE:P_1 R:P_1
animal which name frog pronoun spring

ndyukwa^{32} kǫ̨?^{2}
[DR: P_{21} PnS: pronominal tone] G: $W_{4\cdot 3}$
is-on-it, dir. that-particular
The animal called frog is to be found in a spring.

(d) su^{2} ndi?ǫ̨^{1} ti^{3} šni?^{3} ndaha^{3}
C_{12} = [DA: P_{26} PnS: pronominal tone] G: $P_{1\cdot 1}$
lying is-adjoining-it, dir. only dog lazy

?i^{1} kwitu^{23} ndiya^{21} yu^{3} ni^{2}
R: $P_{11\cdot 1}$ T: $W_{3\cdot 1}$
to chicken is-there man now
The lazy dog is just lying there guarding the man's chicken now.

4.2.3. C_{13}, the directed equational clause, consists of four nuclear tagmemes, of which two are obligatory, and the optional periphery. C_{13} may be graphically represented thus:

$$C_{13} = (\pm \text{Cop} + \text{DE} + \text{PnS} \pm \text{EG}) \pm \text{periphery}$$

The optional complement tagmeme (see 5.2.7) is followed by the obligatory directed equation tagmeme manifested by P_{21} or $P_{22\cdot 1}$, in which the verb is from the equational class and in the directed form (see 5.3.9); followed by the obligatory pronominal subject tagmeme (see 5.3.2); followed by the optional equational goal tagmeme manifested by P_1 or P_4, or by a pronoun of subclass $W_{4\cdot 2}$ (see 5.3.10); followed by the optional periphery which rarely exceeds two tagmemes in a given example. Examples of C_{13} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ta?a^{3} ndška^{43} nde^{3}
C_{13} = Cop: P_1 [DE: P_{21} PnS: pronominal tone] EG: $W_{4\cdot 2}$
feast is-being-it, dir. here
This is a feast being held here.

(b) ti^{2} ndšska^{43} kwi̱ʔi̱^{3} ni^{2}
C_{13} = [DE: P_{21} PnS: pronominal tone] EG: P_{1} T: $W_{3.1}$
still is-being-he, dir. wind now
The wind is still blowing.[24]

(c) wa^{2} ngwa^{43} biyaʔ^{2} tšaʔ^{32} ʔyo̱^{21}
C_{13} = [DE: P_{22} PnS: pronominal tone] EG: P_{4}
completion was, dir. measure thing to-me

wa^{2} ska^{43} yiho̱^{3}
T: P_{31}
completion one year
My affair was settled a year ago.

4.3. There are two clause types in the symbiotic class C_{20}. C_{21} is a basic type and C_{22} is undifferentiated as to basic or directed forms. These types are logically dependent on behavioural and/or linguistic context although structurally independent. The tagmeme order is fixed in both clause types.

4.3.1. C_{21}, the speech clause, consists of three nuclear tagmemes and only one peripheral tagmeme. Two nuclear tagmemes are obligatory. This clause type is used chiefly in the narrative style of discourse. C_{21} may be graphically represented thus:

C_{21} = (+ QM + Sk ± Re) ± B

The obligatory quotation mark tagmeme manifested by the limited class of quotational verbs W_{26} (see 5.4.1) is followed by the obligatory speaker tagmeme manifested by a pronominal tone marker on the predicate, a pronoun, or by a phrase from class P_{0} (see 5.4.2); followed by the optional receptor

[24] The directed form of the equational verb 'to-be' is always used when referring to physical phenomena, e.g., wind, thunder, so it may be assumed that the Chatinos believe that a supernatural force is at work to cause these phenomena since this same verb form is used of wounds and disease thought to be caused by demons.

tagmeme manifested by P_{11} (see 5.4.3); followed by the optional boundary tagmeme as the sole representative of the periphery (see 5.1.6). Examples of C_{21} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) ʔni^{43} yu^{3} loʔo^{1} snyeʔ^{32}
C_{21} = QM Sk:P_1 Re:$P_{11\cdot 2}$
made man with child-his
the man said to his child

(b) yhwi$^{1}_{\wr}$ nu^{3} kwitš̌i^{3} ʔi$^{1}_{\wr}$ nu$^{3}_{\wr}$ kunǫ$^{1}_{\wr}$ tnu$^{3}_{\wr}$
C_{21} = QM Sk:P_1 Re:$P_{11\cdot 1}$
said the-particular rabbit to the-particular snake great

bra^{3} kǫ$^{2}_{\wr}$ ʔ
B
then
the rabbit said to the great snake then

(c) yhwi$^{1}_{\wr}$ š̌uwa^{4} ʔi$^{1}_{\wr}$ yu^{3} nu^{3} nsuʔwi^{1} kǫ$^{2}_{\wr}$
C_{21} = QM Sk:P_1 Re:$P_{11\cdot 1}$
said Juan to man which there-is that-particular
John said to the man who was there

(d) yhwi$^{1}_{\wr}$
C_{21} = [QM Sk:pronominal tone]
said-he

4.3.2. C_{22}, the affirmation clause, consists of two nuclear tagmemes, one obligatory and one optional, and the periphery. C_{22} may be graphically represented thus:

C_{22} = (+ AA $\pm$ G) $\pm$ periphery

The obligatory affirmative action tagmeme manifested by P_{23} and carrying the subject person marker (see 5.4.4) is followed by the optional goal tagmeme (see 5.4.5), which occurs rarely since it is usually implied by the preceding behavioural and/or linguistic context; followed by the optional

periphery which seldom occurs. Examples of C_{22} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) škwa^{43} tu?^{2}
C_{22} = AA
will-lie-down-you, dir. for-sure
You will certainly lie down.

(b) šnyi^{32} tu?^{2} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2}
C_{22} = AA B
will-take-you, dir. for-sure then
Help yourself then.

(c) tyį?į^{43} tu?^{2} nǫ^{2} ?wǫ^{3}
C_{22} = AA G:P_4
will-live-you, dir. for-sure thing of-you-pl./respectful

ni?^{3} nyǫ?ǫ^{1} nde^{3}
L:$P_{11\cdot 1}$
inside inside-house here
You can leave your things in this house.

4.4. To date there is only one type in subordinate class C_{30} and this manifests either the time clause-level tagmeme in the clause in which it is included, or the reason sentence-level tagmeme in S_{12}. It seems probable that upon further investigation this class will be expanded as other subordinate clauses are analysed.

4.4.1. C_{31}, the temporal subordinate clause, has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes and no periphery. C_{31} may be graphically represented thus:

C_{31} = (+ Sbr + Axs)

The obligatory subordinator tagmeme manifested by the limited subclass of subordinator temporal nouns $W_{3\cdot 3}$ (see 5.5.1) is followed by the obligatory axis tagmeme manifested by clause classes C_0 or C_{10} (see 5.5.2). Examples of C_{31} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) bra^{34} ngu̱^{1} ne?^{3} ?i̱^{2}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_1
hour shooting person pronoun
when they were shooting him

(b) šа^{2} ndi̱?i̱^{32} ni?^{3} lyo?o^{32}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_2
light being-living-it inside inside-corral
when it was inside the corral

(c) šа^{2} lka^{4} ne?^{3} nte̱^{34} kune?^{1}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_3
light is person people young
when a person is young

(d) bra^{34} nu^{2} ku^{32} tlya^{32} o̱^{2}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_4
hour which will-eat dinner-of we-inclusive
when we eat our dinner

(e) šа^{2} tlya?^{2} nte̱^{34}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_5
light cold people
when people are cold

(f) bra^{34} nu^{2} šlyu^{32} ne?^{2} mo̱kino̱^{4} su̱^{2} lambre^{4}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_{11}
hour which will-turn, dir. person machine base wire
when they turn the machine at the base of the wire (telegraph)

(g) šа^{2} kito̱^{1} ndyukwi^{32} tu^{3} no̱?o̱^{2} ?i̱^{1} ne?^{3}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_{12}
light hammock is-up-it, dir. door to person
when the hammock is hanging in their doorway

(h) šа^{2} ndška^{43} kwi̱?i̱^{2} ?i̱^{3}
C_{31} = Sbr Axs: C_{13}
light is-being, dir. wind pronoun
when the wind blows against it

4.5. There are four clause types in the minor clause class c_{00}. A restricted periphery occurs with three of these, c_{01}, c_{02}, and c_{03}, whereas the nuclear reference and object tagmemes and the peripheral accompaniment and boundary tagmemes do not occur. Furthermore, no more than two peripheral tagmemes may occur in any given example of these three clause types. The tagmeme order is fixed. c_{01}, c_{02}, and c_{03} manifest the designation post-peripheral tagmeme in phrase type $P_{1\cdot 2}$, where the head tagmeme acts as the logical object, main subject, reference, or location described by the minor clause. If the head tagmeme is acting as the logical main subject described by the minor clause, subject will again be indicated in the predicate of the minor clause by the person marker tone. c_{04} usually manifests the number tagmeme in the pre-periphery of P_1.

4.5.1. c_{01}, the basic action minor clause, consists of three nuclear tagmemes of which two are obligatory, and the periphery. c_{01} may be graphically represented thus:

$$c_{01} = (+\,A \quad +\,S \quad \pm\,IO) \quad \pm \text{ periphery } [-Acc \quad -B]$$

The obligatory action tagmeme in which the verb is in the basic form (the minimum of the predicate phrase usually occurs) (see 5.6.1) is followed by the obligatory subject tagmeme (see 5.6.2), followed by the optional indirect object tagmeme (see 5.6.3), followed by the optional restricted periphery. Examples of c_{01} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)	(no$_{\text{ɛ}}^{2}$)	ngusi$_{\text{ɛ}}$?i$_{\text{ɛ}}^{43}$	ti^{2}	ka^{3}
c_{01} =		[A: P_{21} S: pronominal tone]	T: P_{12}	
	(thing)	bought-I	from	yesterday
		(the thing) that I bought yesterday		

(b)	(se$_{\text{ɛ}}$?e$_{\text{ɛ}}^{3}$	lyu^{21})	ndu$_{\text{ɛ}}^{43}$	kiya?^{32}	msa^{34}
c_{01} =			A: P_{21}	S: P_3	
	(place	ground)	standing	foot	table
	the place on the ground between where the table legs stand				

(c) (ne?^{3}) ngiya^{32} s?ni^{2}
c_{01} = [A: P_{21} S: pronominal tone] T: $W_{13 \cdot 2}$
(person) going-he long-ago

se?e^{3} yi?o^{43} tihyu?^{2}
L: $P_{1 \cdot 2}$
place went-I far
the person who was going long ago to that far off place where I went

4.5.2. c_{02}, the directed action minor clause, consists of three nuclear tagmemes of which two are obligatory and one optional. c_{02} may be graphically represented thus:

c_{02} = (+ DA + PnS ± G) ± periphery [-Acc -B]

The obligatory directed action tagmeme in which the verb is in the directed form (the minimum of the predicate phrase usually occurs) (see 5.6.4) is followed by the obligatory pronominal subject tagmeme (see 5.6.5), followed by the optional goal tagmeme (see 5.6.6), followed by the optional restricted periphery. Examples of c_{02} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) (tu?kwi^{21}) tyo?o^{32}
c_{02} = [DA: P_{21} PnS: pronominal tone]
(road) will-walk-he, dir.
the road he will be caused to take

(b) (se?e^{3}) šku^{32} lyu^{21}
c_{02} = [DA: P_{21} PnS: pronominal tone] G: P_{1}
(place) will-close-in-he, dir. ground
the place where he will be shut up in the earth

4.5.3. c_{03}, the basic referential minor clause, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes with the optional periphery. c_{03} may be graphically represented thus:

c_{03} = (+ RA + S) ± periphery [-Acc -B]

The obligatory referred action tagmeme (see 5.6.7) is followed by the obligatory subject tagmeme (see 5.6.2), followed by the optional restricted periphery. Examples of c_{03} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)	(tu?wa^{3})	ndukwa^{43}	su^{32}
c_{03} =		RA:P_{21}	S:P_1
	(mouth-his)	is-on	beard

his mouth, where the beard is

(b)	(y?o^{1})	ndiya^{21}	kuwi?^{3}	sku^{32}
c_{03} =		RA:P_{21}	S:P_1	L:$W_{1\cdot4}$
	(mother-its)	is-belonging	baby	arm-her

The mother has the baby in her arms.

(c)	(ku?^{12})	ndukwi^{1}	lo^{3}	ti?a^{3}
c_{03} =		[RA:P_{21} S:pronominal tone]	L:$P_{11\cdot1}$	
	(dirt)	is-up-it	in	water

the dirt suspended in the water

4.5.4. c_{04}, the numeral referential minor clause, consists of three obligatory nuclear tagmemes without the periphery. There are two subtypes of c_{04} which may be graphically represented thus:

$$c_{04\cdot1} = (+\ RN_1 \quad +\ NRA_1 \quad +\ SN_1)$$

$$c_{04\cdot2} = (+\ RN_2 \quad +\ NRA_2 \quad +\ SN_2)$$

In $c_{04\cdot1}$ the obligatory reference number$_1$ allotagma manifested by the base numerals from subclass $W_{12\cdot1}$ or by P_{33} (see 5.6.8) is followed by the obligatory numeral referential action$_1$ allotagma manifested only by the referential verb ndukwa 'is-on' (see 5.6.9), followed by the obligatory subject number$_1$ allotagma manifested by numerals of subclass $W_{12\cdot2}$ (see 5.6.10). In $c_{04\cdot2}$ the obligatory reference number$_2$ allotagma, manifested by a restricted P_1 (see 5.6.8), is followed by the obligatory numeral referential action$_2$ allotagma manifested only by the equational verb nsu?wi 'there-is'

(see 5.6.9); followed by the obligatory subject number$_2$ allotagma manifested by numerals of class W_{12} or by P_{33}, or a further c_{04} (see 5.6.10). Examples of c_{04} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)
kala^4 ndukwa^{43} ska^2
$c_{04\cdot 1}$ = RN_1: $W_{12\cdot 1}$ NRA_1 SN_1
twenty is-on one
twenty-one

(b)
tu?wa^1 tyi^{32} ndukwa^{43} sno^1
$c_{04\cdot 1}$ = RN_1: P_{33} NRA_1 SN_1
forty another-ten is-on three
fifty-three

(c)
sno^1 yla^4 nsu?wi^{32} ka?yu^1
$c_{04\cdot 2}$ = RN_2 NRA_2 SN_2: $W_{12\cdot 2}$
three score there-is five
sixty-five

(d)
skwa^1 siyetu^4 nsu?wi^{32} kala^4 tyi^1
$c_{04\cdot 2}$ = RN_2 NRA_2 SN_2: P_{33}
six hundred there-is twenty another-ten
six hundred and thirty

(e)
hakwa^3 yla^4 nsu?wi^{32} ti?yu^1 ndukwa^{43} tukwa^1
$c_{04\cdot 2}$ = RN_2 NRA_2 SN_2: $c_{04\cdot 1}$
four score there-is fifteen is-on two
ninety-seven

5. Clause-Level Tagmemes

A description of the clause-level tagmemes follows. In that there is a common inventory of peripheral tagmemes, most of the characteristic differences between the clause types are to be found in the nuclei. However, characteristic restrictions on the peripheries of certain clause types constitute further contrastive features of those types.

5.1. Peripheral tagmemes occur in a fixed order following the nuclear tagmemes. This order varies only for emphasis as described in 4.0, except for the accompaniment tagmeme. The minimum manifestation of the accompaniment tagmeme may occur following the object tagmeme and preceding the indirect object tagmeme in C_1.

5.1.1. Location. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, P_{11}, P_{12}, p_{01}, p_{03}, or nouns from subclasses $W_{1.4}$ and $W_{2.4}$. L:P_1 se?e^3 laha^2 kwa^3 'place empty that' (that bare patch), nu^3 ki?ya^{23} ndukwa^{43} ska^2 nu^3 tu^3 kye^3 ?i^2 'the-particular mountain is-on one the-particular cave pronoun' (the mountain where he has his cave); L:P_2 no?o^3 tškwo^{43} 'house metal' (gaol); L:P_3 sto?^{2} yka^3 'claws-of tree' (the branches of the tree); L:P_4 kiya?^{32} wta^{34} ?i^1 ne?^{3} 'foot-of cow to person' (his cow's hoof/leg); L:P_{11} lo^3 yka^3 ndla^{34} 'in tree peach' (in a peach tree); L:P_{12} la^3 se?e^3 ndi?i^{43} šuwa^4 'towards place is-being/living Juan' (to where John is living); L:p_{01} l?we^3 la^3 'half more' (middle); L:p_{03} nde^3 ti^3 'here only'; L:$W_{1.4}$ nyo?o^1 'inside-house', lyo?o^{32} 'inside-corral'; L:$W_{2.4}$ sku?we^3 'Juquila'. The location tagmeme occurs in all types in classes C_0 and C_{10} except the basic referential clause, C_2, and in C_{22}, c_{01}, c_{02}, and c_{03} (see 4.1, 4.2, 4.3.2, 4.5).

5.1.2. Accompaniment. This tagmeme is manifested by $P_{11\cdot2}$: lo?o^{1} snye?^{32} reyi^{34} 'with child-of king', lo?o^{1} ska^{3} ha^{3} štlya^{34} ngate^{23} 'with one tortilla Spanish white' (with a white bread roll), lu?u^{1} 'with-me', ha^{4} lo?o^{1} 'negation with-it/him/you' (not with you/him/it). When a negated form occurs, it always precedes the predicate, thereby carrying the emphasis. The accompaniment tagmeme occurs with all types in classes C_0 and C_{10} except C_4, and in C_{22} (see 4.1, 4.2, 4.3.2).

5.1.3. Instrument. This tagmeme is manifested by $P_{11\cdot2}$, or by P_1, P_2, P_3, and P_4 when in the position of emphasis preceding the predicate. Ins:$P_{11\cdot2}$ lo?o^{1} siyera^{4} 'with saw'; Ins:P_1 skwo^{2} ku?tsi^{2} '(with) corn-dough yellow'; Ins:$P_{2\cdot1}$ tškwo^{43} yka^{3} '(with) metal wood' (with an axe); Ins:P_3 ya?^{32} ne?^{2} '(with) hand-of person'; Ins:P_4 mokino^{4} ?i^{1} nu^{3} ki?yu^{1} '(with) machine to the-particular man'. The instrument tagmeme occurs in C_1, C_2, C_4, C_5, and types of classes C_{10} and c_{00} except c_{04} (see 4.1, 4.2, 4.5).

5.1.4. Time. This tagmeme is manifested by a temporal noun of class W_3 or temporal particle of class W_{13}, or by P_1, P_2, P_{12}, P_{31}, P_{32}, C_5, or C_{31}. T:W_3 kya^{43} 'tomorrow'; T:W_{13} s?ni^{2} 'long-time/distance'; T:P_1 ndšga^{3} tso^{23} 'every day'; T:P_2 ka^{3} si^{2} 'yesterday evening'; T:P_{12} la^{3} w?yu^{2} 'towards day-after-day-after-tomorrow' (in three day's time); T:P_{31} ni^{2} wa^{2} tukwa^{1} wsno^{34} 'now completion two weeks' (two weeks ago); T:P_{32} kulo^{32} lo^{2} ko?^{12} ndisiyembre^{4} 'first in month December' (December 1st); T:C_5 kwi?^{2} lya^{1} bra^{34} 'exactly immediately hour' (it is time...); T:C_{31} ša^{2} ndi?i^{43} ne?^{2} kwa^{3} 'light is-being/living person that' (When that person is here...). Two time tagmemes may occur in the same clause, in which case one is usually emphasised and so precedes the predicate.

The time tagmeme occurs in all types in classes C_0 and C_{10}, and in C_{22}, c_{01}, c_{02}, and c_{03} (see 4.1, 4.2, 4.3.2, 4.5).

5.1.5. Manner. This tagmeme is manifested by p_{03} or particles from $W_{11\cdot7}$, $W_{11\cdot8}$, and $W_{11\cdot9}$. M:p_{03} mnǫ^{2} ti^{3} 'secretly only' (softly), kwi?^{2} ti^{3} 'exactly only' (nearly); M:$W_{11\cdot7}$ tšiǫ?^{1} 'a-little'; M:$W_{11\cdot8}$ kwǫ^{2} 'loudly'; M:$W_{11\cdot9}$ tlyi^{32} 'slippery'. This tagmeme occurs rarely, manner being more frequently indicated within the predicate phrase. The manner tagmeme probably occurs in all types of classes C_0, C_{10}, and c_{00} except c_{04}, and in C_{22} (see 4.1, 4.2, 4.3.2, 4.5).

5.1.6. Boundary. This tagmeme is manifested only by a particular example of $P_{1\cdot1}$: bra^{3} kǫ?^{2} 'hour that-particular' (then), and acts as a clause-termination marker. Like other tagmemes it may precede the predicate for emphasis, and in that position has a meaning of 'then/next'. When preceding the predicate together with a time tagmeme manifested by C_{31}, the boundary tagmeme follows the time tagmeme and immediately precedes the predicate. The boundary tagmeme occurs terminating all types in classes C_0, C_{10}, and C_{20} (see 4.1, 4.2, 4.3).

5.2. The nuclear tagmemes of the basic clause types are here presented in detail.

5.2.1. Action. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{21}, P_{22}, or P_{26}, in which the phrase head tagmeme is manifested by a verb in the basic form and from class W_{23}, the active class of verbs, or by P_{24}. A:P_{21} wa^{2} ndihiǫ^{1} 'completion passing-he' (he has gone past); A:$P_{22\cdot2}$ ha^{4} tsa^{43} nskǫ?^{1} kǫ?ǫ^{32} 'negation tight tying-he will-be there' (he is-tying it up securely); A:P_{24} ha^{4} lye^{32} tlya?^{2} tiǫ?^{43} 'negation much cold em.-verbr.-I' (I do not feel very cold); A:P_{26} ya^{32} ?yǫ^{43} 'went carrying-I' (I went to bring). The action tagmeme occurs in C_1 and c_{01} (see 4.1.1, 4.5.1).

5.2.2. Subject. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, P_6, P_{33}, p_{03}, c_{04}, and/or by a pronominal tone marker on the predicate, or by a word from classes $W_{4\cdot1}$, $W_{12\cdot3}$, $W_{12\cdot4}$, and w_{04}. S:P_1 ska^3 nu^3 ki?yu^1 tlyu^3 'one the-particular man big' (one big man); S:P_2 te?^{34} kitš̲o̲?^{2} 'cloth hair-of' (blanket); S:P_3 ska^3 kiya?^{32} nu^3 kwo̲?o̲^{1} 'one foot-of the-particular female' (one of the woman's feet); S:P_4 tukwa^1 kuwe?^{32} ?i̲^{1} ne?^{3} kwa^3 'two pig to person there' (that person's two pigs); S:P_6 ne?^{3} ša?^{3} ne?^{3} nu^3 ha^4 ndškwi?^{1} tša?^{32} tnyo̲^{32} 'person different person which negation speaking-he word work' (a Mexican, one who does not speak Chatino); S:P_{33} ti?yu̲^{1} ška^1 'fifteen another-one' (sixteen); S:p_{03} tukwa^1 ti^3 'two only'; S:c_{04} kala^4 ndukwa^{43} ska^2 'twenty is-on one' (twenty-one); S:tone marker ku?u̲^{32} 'will-drink-I' (I will drink); S:$W_{4\cdot1}$ no̲?^{2} 'I'; S:$W_{12\cdot3}$ šk̲a^1 'another-one'; S:$W_{12\cdot4}$ kiti^1 'another-seven'; S:w_{04} (tsa^{43}) wo̲^{2} '(will-go) you-pl./respectful' (you will go). The subject tagmeme occurs in C_1, C_2, C_5, c_{01}, and c_{03} (see 4.1, 4.5).

5.2.3. Object. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, P_{33}, p_{03}, or c_{04}. O:P_1 škwi?^{1} no̲^{2} tsu?we^{32} ti^3 'altogether things good only' (just good things all through); O:P_2 tškwo̲^{43} yka^3 'metal wood' (axe); O:P_3 ste?^{32} wo̲^{2} 'clothes-of you-pl./respectful'; O:P_4 te̲?e̲^{23} ?yo̲^{21} 'water-pot to-me'; O:P_{33} (kuta^{32}) kala^4 nga?yu^{32} (?yo̲^{21}) '(will-give-you) twenty plus-five (to-me)' ([Give me] twenty-five); O:p_{03} (kuto̲^{32}) sno̲^{1} ti^3 '(will-give-I) three only' ([I will give] just three). The object tagmeme occurs only in C_1 (see 4.1.1).

5.2.4. Indirect Object. This tagmeme is manifested by $P_{11\cdot1}$ or by pronouns of subclass $W_{4\cdot2}$. IO:$P_{11\cdot1}$?i̲^{1} nu^3 luwe^2 ti^3 'to the-particular small only' (to the child); IO:$W_{4\cdot2}$?no̲^{3} 'to-we-inclusive'. The indirect object tagmeme occurs in C_1, C_{11}, and c_{01} (see 4.1.1, 4.2.1, 4.5.1).

5.2.5. Referred Action. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{21} or $P_{22 \cdot 2}$, in which the phrase head tagmeme is manifested by a verb in the basic form and from the referential class W_{21}, or by nsu?wi^{32} 'there-is' from subclass $W_{22 \cdot 2}$. RA: P_{21} wa^{2} tsu?we^{32} ndi?i^{32} 'completion good is-living-he' (He is well), ha^{4} nsu?wi^{32} 'negation there-is-it' (There isn't any there); RA: $P_{22 \cdot 2}$ mdiya^{21} tukwa^{32} 'was-belonging-he will-be-on' (he mounted). The referred action tagmeme occurs in C_2 and c_{03} (see 4.1.2, 4.5.3).

5.2.6. Reference. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{11}, P_1, P_2, P_3, or P_4, or by $W_{4 \cdot 2}$. R: P_{11} ?i^{1} kwitu^{23} ndiya^{21} ?i^{1} yu^{3} 'to chicken is-belonging to man' (to the chicken the man has); R: P_1 ska^{3} y?o^{1} 'one mother'; R: P_2 yka^{3} no?o^{3} 'wood house' (ship); R: P_3 ško?^{2} ne?^{3} sko^{2} 'shirt-of person messenger' (the town-messenger's shirt); R: P_4 yka^{3} hu?wa^{34} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} 'tree banana to person'. The reference tagmeme occurs in C_2 and C_{12} (see 4.1.2, 4.2.2).

5.2.7. Complement. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1 or by a pronoun of subclass $W_{4 \cdot 1}$. Cop: $P_{1 \cdot 2}$?ni^{3} ha^{4} ?ni^{43} la^{21} 'animal negation make fierce' (animal which is never fierce); Cop: P_1 ska^{3} kwihi^{2} 'one bag'; Cop: $W_{4 \cdot 1}$ no?^{2} 'I'. The complement tagmeme occurs in C_3 and C_{13} (see 4.1.3, 4.2.3).

5.2.8. Equation. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{21} or P_{26} in which the phrase head tagmeme is manifested by a verb in the basic form and from the equational class W_{22}, or by a verb from subclass $W_{22 \cdot 3}$ which is not expandable to form a phrase. $W_{22 \cdot 1}$ lka^{43} 'is', $W_{22 \cdot 2}$ nsu?wi^{32} 'there-is', $W_{22 \cdot 3}$ no^{2} 'name'. The equation tagmeme occurs only in C_3 (see 4.1.3).

5.2.9. Equational Subject. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, a pronoun from classes $W_{4 \cdot 1}$ or w_{04}, or

by a pronominal tone marker on the predicate. ES:P_1 sno^{1} yiho^{3} 'three years'; ES:P_2 yka^{3} msno^{34} 'tree apple'; ES:P_3 snye?^{32} šno^{3} 'child-of Juana' (Joan's child); ES:P_4 msu^{34} ?yo^{21} 'servant to-me'; ES:$W_{4.1}$ nu?wi^{2} 'you-familiar'; ES:w_{04} wo^{3} 'you-pl./respectful'; ES:tone lko^{1} 'am-I'. The equational subject tagmeme occurs only in C_3 (see 4.1.3).

5.2.10. Reflexive Action. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{21}, in which the phrase head tagmeme is manifested by a verb in either the basic or directed form and from the reflexive class W_{24}: ngite^{1} 'cleaning', ndyo?o^{32} 'emerging, dir.', ndšku^{32} 'eating', ndiy?o^{32} 'washing'. The reflexive action tagmeme occurs only in C_4 (see 4.1.4).

5.2.11. Possessed Object. This tagmeme is manifested by P_3 or P_4. POb:P_3 tlya^{32} wo^{2} 'dinner-of you-pl./respectful'; POb:P_4 kšu^{34} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} 'cheese to person' (their cheese). The possessed object tagmeme occurs only in C_4 (see 4.1.4).

5.2.12. Stative Predicate. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{25}: wa^{2} tlyu^{3} ?a^{1} 'completion big very' (It was very big), ha^{4} tsu?we^{32} ?a^{4} 'negation good more' (It is no more good), ti^{2} ngate^{23} tši?^{1} 'still white a-little' (It is still a little white). The stative predicate tagmeme occurs only in C_5 (see 4.1.5).

5.3. The nuclear tagmemes of the directed clause types are here presented in detail.

5.3.1. Directed Action. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{21}, P_{22}, or P_{26}, in which the phrase head tagmeme is manifested by a verb in the directed form and from the W_{23} class of active verbs, or by P_{24}. DA:P_{21} wa^{2} nši?yu^{1} tši?^{1} 'completion cutting-he,dir. a-little' (He has just cut a little); DA:P_{22} ško?^{1} ko?o^{32} 'will-tie-up,dir. will-be-there' (will

tie someone else securely); DA:P_{24} nškye?^{1} ti?^{32} 'thinking, dir.' (it was thought), see 3.5.6 and 3.5.7; DA:P_{26} hyǫ^{32} tyǫ^{1} 'will-return, dir. will-give-I, dir.' (I will return to pay). The directed action tagmeme occurs in C_{11} and c_{02} (see 4.2.1, 4.5.2).

5.3.2. Pronominal Subject. This tagmeme is manifested by a minor pronoun of class w_{04} or pronominal tone marker on the predicate. PnS:w_{04} ndyo?o^{1} ne?^{3} 'emerging, dir. person', ndyi?i^{1} wǫ^{3} 'living/being, dir. you-pl./respectful' (You are being caused to live there), nskwę^{23} ba^{3} 'climbing, dir. we-exclusive', nškwa^{43} ǫ^{3} 'lying-down, dir. we-inclusive' (We are all lying down); PnS:tone ndyi?ǫ^{1} 'is-staying-he, dir.' The pronominal subject tagmeme occurs in all types in class C_{10}, and c_{02} (see 4.2, 4.5.2).

5.3.3. Goal. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_3, P_4, $P_{11\cdot1}$ when the relator$_1$ allotagma is manifested by the particle ?i^{1} 'to', P_{12}, or by a pronoun from subclasses $W_{4\cdot2}$ or $W_{4\cdot3}$, and is always the focus of attention in any clause where it occurs. G:P_1 yka^{3} štlya^{34} nde^{3} 'wood Spanish this' (this chair); G:P_3 snye?^{32} reyi^{34} 'child-of king'; G:P_4 tšibu^{4} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} 'goat to person'; G:$P_{11\cdot1}$?i^{1} nu^{3} kunǫ^{2} 'to the-particular robber'; G:P_{12} la^{3} nde^{3} 'towards here'; G:$W_{4\cdot2}$?wǫ^{3} 'to-you-pl./respectful'; G:$W_{4\cdot3}$ kǫ?^{2} 'that-particular' (that one). The goal tagmeme occurs in C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{22}, and c_{02} (see 4.2, 4.3.2, 4.5.2).

5.3.4. Subject Expansion. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_3, or P_4. SE:P_1 nu^{3} buru^{2} 'the-particular donkey'; SE:P_3 snye?^{32} ne?^{3} 'child-of person'; SE:P_4 kwiyu^{34} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} 'mule to person'. The subject expansion tagmeme occurs in C_{11} and C_{12} (see 4.2.1, 4.2.2) where it is not in the attention focus.

5.3.5. Goal Expansion. This tagmeme is manifested by

P_1 and occurs rarely. GE:$P_{1\cdot 3}$?ni^3 nu^3 no^2 kwityi?^{32} ?i^2 'animal which name frog pronoun' (the animal called frog). The goal expansion tagmeme occurs only in C_{12} in data analysed to date, but it seems probable that it may occur also in C_{11} and C_{13} (see 4.2.1).

5.3.6. Directed Referential. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{21} or P_{26} in which the phrase head tagmeme is manifested by a verb in the directed form and from the referential class W_{21}, or by P_{24} in which the head tagmeme is manifested by a directed verb from $W_{27\cdot 0\cdot 4}$. DR:P_{21} ha^4 ndyu?wi^1 ?a^4 'negation there-is,dir. more' (there is no longer); DR:P_{26} kya^{32} ndi?o^1 (ne?) 'will-go is-adjoining, dir. (person)' (he will follow); DR:P_{24} ndyi?i^4 ti?^{32} 'is-living,dir. em.-verbr.-he' (he is being made to feel). The directed referential tagmeme occurs only in C_{12} (see 4.2.2).

5.3.7. Reference. This is the same tagmeme that occurs in C_2 (see 5.2.6).

5.3.8. Complement. This is the same tagmeme that occurs in C_3 (see 5.2.8).

5.3.9. Directed Equation. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{21} or $P_{22\cdot 1}$ in which the phrase head tagmeme is manifested by a verb in the directed form and from subclasses $W_{22\cdot 1}$ and $W_{22\cdot 2}$ of the equational class of verbs. DE:P_{21} lye^{32} ndška^{43} 'much is-being,dir.' (there is a lot); kwe^2 ndška^{43} 'loudly is-being,dir.' (that is loud), wa^2 ndška^{43} tši?^{1} 'completion is-being,dir. a-little' (That is a little better); DE:$P_{22\cdot 1}$ wa^2 ngwa^{43} biya?^{2} 'completion was-being,dir. balance-of' (It was settled). The directed equation tagmeme occurs only in C_{13} (see 4.2.3).

5.3.10. Equational Goal. This tagmeme is manifested by a pronoun of subclass $W_{4\cdot 2}$ or by P_1 or P_4 which often

occur in the minimum form. EG:$W_{4.2}$?wo̱^{3} 'to-you-pl./respectful; EG:P_1 kwi̱?i̱^{3} 'wind', ti?yu^{32} 'thunder'; EG:P_4 tš̆a?^{32} ?yo̱^{21} 'thing to-me'. The equational goal tagmeme occurs only in C_{13} (see 4.2.3).

5.4. The nuclear tagmemes of the symbiotic clause types are here presented in detail.

5.4.1. Quotation Mark. This tagmeme is manifested by the two members of the limited class of quotational verbs W_{26}: ?ni 'making', yhwi̱ 'said'. These words indicate that a quotation is completed. When the speaker tagmeme is manifested by pronominal tone the one word is the complete speech clause as yhwi̱^{1} 'said-he'. The quotation mark tagmeme occurs only in C_{21} (see 4.3.1).

5.4.2. Speaker. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, a pronoun from classes $W_{4.1}$ or w_{04}, or a pronominal tone marker on the predicate. Sk:P_1 nu^{3} la^{3} ku?no̱^{2} 'the-particular alligator'; Sk:P_2 š̆uwa^{3} nte̱^{23} 'Juan hill' (John-on-the-hill); Sk:P_3 sti^{2} mo̱^{43} 'father-of Maximo'; Sk:P_4 msu^{34} ?i̱^{1} ne?^{3} 'servant to person', nu^{3} š̆e̱?e̱^{2} kula^{3} 'the-particular scorpion old'; Sk:$W_{4.1}$ nu?wi̱^{32} 'you-familiar'; Sk:w_{04} (yhwi̱^{2}) ba^{2} '(said) we-exclusive'; Sk:tone yhwi̱^{1} 'said-he', ?ni^{43} 'making-he'. The speaker tagmeme occurs only in C_{21} (see 4.3.1).

5.4.3. Receptor. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{11} in which the relator tagmeme is manifested by two independent prepositions only ?i̱^{1} 'to' and lo?o^{1} 'with' from subclass $W_{14.1}$: ?i̱^{1} nu^{3} ku?^{32} 'to the-particular cripple'; ?i̱^{1} nu^{3} kuno̱^{1} tnu̱^{3} 'to the-particular snake great'; lo?o^{1} sti^{2} 'with father-his'. The receptor tagmeme occurs only in C_{21} (see 4.3.1).

5.4.4. Affirmative Action. This tagmeme is manifested

by P_{23} and is both predicate and subject since the latter occurs only as a pronominal tone marker on the predicate in the first or second persons: ku^{32} tu?^{3} 'will-eat-you for-sure' (eat it); kya^{43} tu?^{3} 'will-go-you, dir. for-sure' (you are certainly going). The affirmative action tagmeme occurs only in C_{22} (see 4.3.2).

5.4.5. Goal. This is the same tagmeme that occurs in C_{11} and C_{12} (see 5.3.3).

5.5. The two nuclear tagmemes of the subordinate clause constitute its contrastive features in that no peripheral tagmemes are posited. These two tagmemes are here presented in detail.

5.5.1. Subordinator. This tagmeme is manifested by the two members of a limited subclass of subordinator temporal nouns $W_{3\cdot 2}$, i.e., šа^{2} 'light/brightness' and bra^{34} 'hour' which, when manifesting the subordinator tagmeme, have the general meaning of 'when'. The subordinator tagmeme occurs only in C_{31} (see 4.4.1).

5.5.2. Axis. This tagmeme is manifested by all the clause types in classes C_0 and C_{10}. Axs:C_1 (šа^{2}) tsa?o^{43} lo^{3} kiya?^{32} '(when) will-go-I in market' (when I go to market); Axs:C_2 (šа^{2}) ndi?i^{43} Nyanu^{4} '(when) is-living Justiniano' (when Justiniano is here); Axs:C_3 (šа^{2}) lka^{43} ne?^{2} nte^{34} kune?^{1} '(when) is person people young' (when people are young); Axs:C_4 (šа^{2}) ku^{32} tlya^{32} o^{2} '(when) will-eat dinner-of we-inclusive' (when we eat our dinner); Axs:C_5 (šа^{2}) tikye?^{3} nte^{34} '(when) hot people' (when people are hot); Axs:C_{11} (šа^{2}) tyi^{1} no^{2} ni?^{2} '(when) will-finish, dir. thing inside' (when what is inside is finished); Axs:C_{12} (bra^{34}) tye?e^{43} ne?^{2} '(when) will-be-staying, dir. person' (when they get married); Axs:C_{13} (bra^{34}) lye^{32} ndška^{43} ti?yu^{32} '(when) much is-being, dir. thunder' (when it thun-

ders a lot). The axis tagmeme occurs only in C_{31} (see 4.4.1).

5.6. The main contrastive characteristics distinguishing class c_{00} from other clause type classes is the lack of certain nuclear and peripheral tagmemes. Except for the tagmemes of c_{04}, the tagmemes which occur in minor clauses are the same as those found in the corresponding major clauses.

5.6.1. Action. This is the same tagmeme as that in C_1 (see 5.2.1).

5.6.2. Subject. This is the same tagmeme as that in C_1, C_2, and C_5 (see 5.2.2).

5.6.3. Indirect Object. This is the same tagmeme as that in C_1 (see 5.2.4).

5.6.4. Directed Action. This is the same tagmeme as that in C_{11} (see 5.3.1).

5.6.5. Pronominal Subject. This is the same tagmeme as that in C_{11} and C_{12} (see 5.3.2).

5.6.6. Goal. This is the same tagmeme as that in C_{11} and C_{12} (see 5.3.3).

5.6.7. Referred Action. This is the same tagmeme as that in C_{12} (see 5.2.5).

5.6.8. Reference Number. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the reference $number_1$ allotagma is manifested by the base numerals from subclass $W_{12.1}$ or by P_{33}. RN_1: P_{33} kala^4 ndi?yu^{32} 'twenty plus-fifteen' (thirty-five), tu?wa^1 nga?yu^{32} 'forty plus-five' (forty-five). The $reference\ number_2$ allotagma is manifested by a restricted P_1 con-

sisting only of two tagmemes and no post-periphery: sno_{ζ}^{1} yla^{3} 'three score'; ska^{3} $siye_{\zeta}tu^{4}$ 'one hundred'. The reference number tagmeme occurs only in c_{04} (see 4.5.4).

5.6.9. Numeral Referential Action. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the numeral referential action$_1$ allotagma is manifested only by the referential verb ndukwa 'is-on' from class W_{21}, whereas the numeral referential action$_2$ allotagma is manifested only by the equational verb nsu?wi 'there-is' from class $W_{22 \cdot 2}$. The numeral referential action tagmeme occurs only in c_{04} (see 4.5.4).

5.6.10. Subject Number. This tagmeme has two allotagmas, and the subject number$_1$ allotagma is manifested by the empiric primes of subclass $W_{12 \cdot 2}$, whereas the subject number$_2$ allotagma is manifested by numerals of subclasses $W_{12 \cdot 1}$ or $W_{12 \cdot 2}$, or by P_{33}, or c_{04}. $SN_1 : W_{12 \cdot 2}$ ($kala^{4}$ $ndukwa^{43}$) $kati^{1}$ '(twenty is-on) seven' (twenty-seven); $SN_2 : W_{12 \cdot 1}$ (sno_{ζ}^{1} yla^{3} $nsu?wi^{32}$) ti^{1} '(three score there-is) ten' (seventy); $SN_2 : W_{12 \cdot 2}$ ($hakwa^{4}$ yla^{3} $nsu?wi^{32}$) $skwa^{1}$ '(four score there-is) six' (eighty-six); $SN_2 : P_{33}$ ($tukwa^{1}$ $siye_{\zeta}tu^{4}$ $nsu?wi^{32}$) ti^{2} $\check{s}no_{\zeta}^{1}$ '(two hundred there-is) ten another-three' (two hundred and thirteen); $SN_2 : c_{04 \cdot 1}$ (sno_{ζ}^{1} $siye_{\zeta}tu^{4}$ $nsu?wi^{32}$) $kala^{4}$ $ndukwa^{43}$ $tukwa^{1}$ '(three hundred there-is) twenty is-on two' (three hundred and twenty-two); $SN_2 : c_{04 \cdot 2}$ ($hakwa^{4}$ mi^{4} $nsu?wi^{32}$) ska^{3} $siye_{\zeta}tu^{4}$ $nsu?wi^{32}$ $kala^{4}$ '(four thousand there-is) one hundred there-is twenty' (four thousand, one hundred and twenty). The subject number tagmeme occurs only in c_{04} (see 4.5.4).

6. Colon Types

At the colon syntactic level, the distinctions nuclear versus peripheral and major versus minor are not applicable. A new distinction, however, of relative simplicity versus relative complexity may be applied. This results in two classes of colons: the simple colon class (K_0) and the complex colon class (K_{10}). There are five types in class K_0 and three types in class K_{10}.

The colon is essentially a bipartite structure, and in class K_0 the members usually consist of just one clause each, or occasionally an included colon; in class K_{10} the members characteristically consist of included colons or sentences. Up to three levels of inclusions have been encountered, and an optional pause between members is not unusual. The actual co-occurrences of clauses, colons, or sentences in the two members of the various colon types give rise to co-occurrence subtypes[25] of each type.

A two-dimensional matrix might be posited for the colon level since the first three types in class K_0 are similar to those in class K_{10}, and there are two sets of contrastive criteria. The primary distinction within such a matrix would be statement-statement and axiom-elaboration, versus activity-instigation and situation-result, versus antecedent-consequent and initiation-sequence, versus predication-development, versus thesis-antithesis, of which the last two are without a parallel type in class K_{10}. The second distinction would be between simple and complex types.

[25] Some of the co-occurrence restrictions summarised for colon and sentence types will doubtless prove on further study to be lacunae in our present data; others will prove to be systemic restrictions. While only the latter are of structural interest, the resolution of this problem must await further investigation.

6.1. There are five colon types in class K_0. These simple colons allow of little complexity within their members in that they are usually only clause-clause combinations which involve completely independent clauses, i.e., classes C_0 and C_{10}. However C_{22}, a symbiotic clause, may manifest the first member of K_3.

6.1.1. K_1, the statement-statement colon, is a repetitive construction where the predicate of the clause manifesting the first member is repeated in the second member. Occasionally the first clause is repeated in its entirety to manifest the second member. The subject referent is not necessarily the same in the two members. The members of this colon are reversible. The statement-statement colon is the only colon type where the same tagmeme is repeated as the second member, and is found occasionally to expand to three members all repetitions of the same tagmeme; in this case the same predicate is repeated again in the third statement. K_1 may be represented graphically thus:

$$K_1 = + \text{Sta} \quad + \text{Sta} \quad \pm \text{Sta}$$

The obligatory statement tagmeme must be repeated once and may be repeated twice. It is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, C_{21}, or K_4 (see 7.1.1). There are no significant subtypes of K_1 in that all co-occurrences are predictable. Thus C_1 occurs with C_1, C_2 occurs with C_2, and C_{11} occurs with C_{11}. Examples of K_1 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)

	nguhwi^{1}	y?o^{12}		nguhwi^{1}	sti^{1}
K_1 =	Sta: C_1			Sta: C_1	
	died	mother-my		died	father-my

My mother and father are dead.

(b)

	ndiya^{21}	ngušu?^{3}		ndiya^{21}	ska^{3}	nu^{3}
K_1 =	Sta: C_2			Sta: C_2		
	is-belonging	aged		is-belonging	one	the-particular

ku?^{21}

cripple
There was once an old person and a cripple...

(c) šťya^{32} ska^{3} kitu?^{3} tlyu^{2} šťya^{32} kahwe^{4}
K_1 = Sta:C_{11} Sta:C_{11}
will-put,dir. one pot big will-put,dir. coffee
The big pot will be put on with coffee in it.

(d) tšẹ^{2} nyọ?ọ^{43} kọ?^{2} šа?^{3} nyọ?ọ^{43}
K_1 = Sta:C_1 Sta:C_1
bad looking,dir. that-particular different looking,dir.

kọ?^{2} tšẹ^{2} nyọ?ọ^{43} kọ?^{2}
Sta:C_1
that-particular bad looking,dir. that-particular
That one is ugly and different, it's bad looking!

6.1.2. K_2, the activity-instigation colon, is not as such reversible, but it may be transformed into a reason sentence (S_{12}) by reversing the members and putting the hinge conjunction kọ?^{2} tša?^{2} 'that-emphatic thing' (that's why) between the members. The only aspect restriction in the predicates of the two members is that a sequence of completive-intentive does not occur. K_2 may be graphically represented thus:

K_2 = + Act + Inst

The obligatory activity tagmeme, manifested by C_1, C_5, C_{11}, C_{13}, K_1, K_3, K_4, or K_{12} (see 7.1.2), is followed by the obligatory instigation tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, K_4, or K_{11} (see 7.1.3).

There are eight subtypes of K_2 on the basis of the co-occurrence of the various manifestations of the activity tagmeme, with the various manifestations of the instigation tagmeme. These co-occurrence subtypes are classified according to given manifestations of the instigation tagmeme, beginning with the largest co-occurrence class in subtype

(i). This system has been followed throughout the colon description. Subtype (i): The activity tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, C_{13}, or K_1 when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (ii): The activity tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_5, C_{11}, or K_3 when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by C_2. Subtype (iii): The activity tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, C_{13}, K_4, or K_{12} when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (iv): The activity tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or K_{12} when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by C_5. Subtype (v): The activity tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, C_{13}, K_3, or K_4 when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by C_3. Subtype (vi): The activity tagmeme is manifested by C_{13} when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by K_{11}. Subtype (vii): The activity tagmeme is manifested by C_1 when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by K_4. Subtype (viii): The activity tagmeme is manifested by C_{11} when the instigation tagmeme is manifested by C_4. Examples of K_2 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

(a) ngusnyi^{1} ki?^{3} yka^{3} kitye^{32} ngwi?ya^{32} ti?yu^{32}
K_2 = Act:C_1 Inst:C_{11}
took fire tree pitch-pine descended,dir. thunder
The pitch pine tree was burnt as lightning had stricken it.

(b) nsu?wi^{32} tne^{3} nsu?wi^{32} tne^{3} nsu?wi^{32} tne^{3}
K_2 = Act:K_1 [Sta Sta Sta]
there-is blood there-is blood there-is blood

ya^{2} ndyo?o^{3} ?i^{1} salbahe^{4}
Inst:C_{11}
went emerging,dir. to ruffian
There was blood and more blood and more blood that came from the ruffians.

subtype (ii)

bra^{34} ngwilyu^{32} ngwǫ̨ʔǫ̨^{1} tiru^{4} ʔi̯^{2}
K_2 = Act:C_1 Inst:C_2
immediately fell-over-he was-adjoining bullet pronoun
He immediately fell as the bullet hit him.

subtype (iii)

tsaʔǫ̨^{43} skuʔwe^{2} kya^{43}
K_2 = Act:C_1
will-go-I Juquila tomorrow

ndšga^{3} kisu^{32} wa^{2} nguwę̨^{32}
Inst:C_1
every avocado completion ripened
I am going to Juquila tomorrow as all the avocados are ripe.

subtype (iv)

(a) ha^{4} kwiʔya^{32} nǫ̨^{2} ti̯ʔi̯^{2} lyuʔ^{1} ʔa^{2}
K_2 = Act:C_1 Inst:C_5
negation will-carry-you thing heavy lesser-you very
You are not to carry heavy things as you are so little.

(b) ha^{4} kuta^{32} nǫ̨^{2} la^{2} ku^{2} kuwiʔ^{32} ʔi̯^{2}
K_2 = Act:K_{12} [Sit Res]
negation will-give-you thing fierce will-eat baby pronoun

tiʔi^{2} ʔa^{1} tiye^{32} kuwiʔ^{32} ʔi̯^{2}
Inst:C_5
hurting much stomach-of baby pronoun
Do not give anything 'fierce' to your baby to eat as the baby's stomach is hurting him.

subtype (v)

ha^{4} kuhwi̯ʔ^{43} siʔi^{1} nǫ̨^{2} ʔy̨ǫ̨^{43} lka^{4}
K_2 = Act:C_1 Inst:C_3
negation will-sell-I is-not thing to-me is
I will not sell it as it is not mine.

subtype (vi)

ndška^3 sę?e^3 yu^3 ngušu?^{3} tše^2 nyo?o^{43}
K_2 = Act: C_{13} Inst: K_{11} [Ax
is-being-he, dir. place man aged bad looking, dir.

nu^3 kitsu?^{32} šnyo^1 tšanyi^2 bra^3 ko?^{2}
Elb]
the-particular spotted will-nauseate, dir. truly then
He is caused to be like an old man as the spots look so bad that they cause people to feel really nauseated.

subtype (vii)

ndšku^{32} nte^{34} ?i^1 ?i^3 šu?^{4} ?ni^3 lka^4 ?i^2
K_2 = Act: C_1 Inst: K_4 [Dev Pred]
eating people to pronoun tasty animal is pronoun
People eat this animal and it is very tasty.

subtype (viii)

tla^4 ndyo?o^{32} ne?^{2} tšku^1
K_2 = Act: C_{11}
night walking, dir. person spring

ndihi^{32} ko?^{2} ?i^1 ne?^{3}
Inst: C_4
gaining that-particular to person
At night they go to the spring to get them.

6.1.3. K_3, the antecedent-consequent colon, is not reversible. It signifies a series of two actions in immediate sequence with the same subject referent. The predicate in the first member always includes a verb indicating motion or position, and although the subject may be repeated in the second member it is never expanded. The most commonly occurring aspect sequences in the predicates of the two members are continuative-continuative, continuative-completive, or intentive-intentive. K_3 may be graphically represented thus:

K_3 = + Ant + Cons

The obligatory antecedent tagmeme, manifested by C_1, C_{11}, C_{22}, or K_1 (see 7.1.4), is followed by the obligatory consequent tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_4, C_{11}, C_{12}, or K_1 (see 7.1.5).

There are five subtypes of K_3. These co-occurrence subtypes are classified according to given manifestations of the consequent tagmeme. Subtype (i): The antecedent tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, or C_{22} when the consequent tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The antecedent tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or C_{11} when the consequent tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iii): The antecedent tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or C_{11} when the consequent tagmeme is manifested by C_{12}. Subtype (iv): The antecedent tagmeme is manifested by K_1 when the consequent tagmeme is manifested by K_1. Subtype (v): The antecedent tagmeme is manifested by C_{11} when the consequent tagmeme is manifested by C_4. Examples of K_3 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	hyo̱^{32}	tu̱?^{43}	su?wo̱^{32}	to̱^{2}	?i̱^{2}	šiya?^{2}
K_3 =	Ant: C_{22}		Cons: C_1			
	will-return-I	for-sure-I	will-put-I	lard	pronoun	again

I will certainly come back and put more ointment on you.

subtype (ii)

	kya^{43}	hyo̱^{32}	tyo̱^{43}	tnyi^{34}	?i̱^{2}
K_3 =	Ant: C_1		Cons: C_{11}		
	tomorrow	will-return-I	will-give-I, dir.	money	pronoun

I will return tomorrow and pay you.

subtype (iii)

	su^{2}	ti^{3}	nu^{3}	šni̱?^{3}	?no̱^{3}	ndi?o̱^{1}
K_3 =	Ant: C_1					Cons: C_{12}
	lying	just	the-particular	dog	of-ours	is-adjoining, dir.

Our dog just stays lying there in one place.

subtype (iv)

	ngudo?o^{1}	yu^{3}	ngudo?o^{1}	yu^{3}
K_3 =	Ant:K_1 [Sta		Sta]	
	emerged	man	emerged	man

	ngiya^{32}	ytsa?^{1}	yu^{3}	bra^{3}	ko?^{2}	ngiya^{32}	ytsa?^{1}	yu^{3}	bra^{3}	ko?^{2}
	Cons:K_1 [Sta					Sta]				
	going	told	man	then		going	told	man	then	

Leaving, the man went and told then.

subtype (v)

	kyo?^{1}	ku^{32}	tlya^{32}
K_3 =	Ant:C_{11}	Cons:C_4	
	will-come-you, dir.	will-eat	dinner-your

Come in and eat your dinner.

6.1.4. K_4, the predication-development colon, is a structure in which the development tagmeme is the logical goal of the predicate in the predication tagmeme, or if that predicate is a stative, then the development tagmeme is the logical subject. The members in this type are reversible. There is no restriction on the aspect combination of the predicates in the two members. K_4 may be graphically represented thus:

$$K_4 = + \overleftarrow{\text{Pred}} \quad + \overrightarrow{\text{Dev}}$$

The obligatory predication tagmeme, manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, or C_{13} (see 7.1.6), is followed or preceded by the obligatory development tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_2, K_3, K_4, or K_{11} (see 7.1.7).

There are five subtypes of K_4. These co-occurrence subtypes are classified according to given manifestations of the predication tagmeme. Subtype (i): When the predication tagmeme is manifested by C_{11} the development tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, K_3, or a simple form of K_{11}. Subtype (ii): When the predication tagmeme is manifested by C_5 the development tagmeme may be manifested

by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{12}, or K_4. Subtype (iii): When the predication tagmeme is manifested by C_1, the development tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_5, K_2, or K_4. Subtype (iv): When the predication tagmeme is manifested by C_{13}, the development tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_{11}, C_{12}, or K_4. Subtype (v): When the predication tagmeme is manifested by C_3, the development tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, or C_{13}. Examples of K_4 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	ʔa^{4}	ska^{2}	ʔa^{3}	nǫ^{2}	šų^{ʔ4}	škye^{ʔ2}	tį^{ʔ43}
K_4 =	Dev:C_5					Pred:C_{11}	
	negation	one	more	thing	tasty	think-I,dir.	

I am caused to think that nothing is tasty any longer. (See 3.5.6)

subtype (ii)

	tsuʔwe^{32}	wa^{2}	ngulihyi^{32}	yuʔwi^{1}	buru^{2}	bra^{3}	kǫ^{ʔ2}
K_4 =	Pred:C_5	Dev:K_4 [Pred		Dev]			
	good	completion	lacked	there-was,dir.	donkey	then	

It would have been good had the donkey lacked his load at that time.

subtype (iii)

	wa^{2}	ngiya^{32}	
K_4 =	Pred:C_1		
	completion	going-he	

	wa^{2}	ndiya^{21}	sę^{ʔ}ę^{3}	ndį^{ʔ}į^{32}	lihya^{3}	bra^{3}	kǫ^{ʔ2}
	Dev:C_2						
	completion	is-there	place	is-living	sugar-cane	then	

He went on until he got to the place where the sugar cane is growing.

subtype (iv)

	ha^{4}	ndšką^{43}	ʔa^{3}	tsa^{32}	tihyuʔ^{1}
K_4 =	Pred:C_{13}			Dev:C_1	
	negation	is-being,dir.	more	will-go-he	far

He is unable to go far distances any more.

subtype (v)

	lka^{4}	ngudihi^{32}	ne?^{2}
K_4 =	Pred: C_3	Dev: C_1	
	is-it	passed	person

It is the place where they passed.

6.1.5. K_5, the thesis-antithesis colon, is a balanced structure in which the second member states the antithesis of the first. This construction is relatively rare, and in the data encountered, only C_5 was found to manifest either member. K_5 may be graphically represented thus:

K_5 = + The + Athe

The obligatory thesis tagmeme manifested by C_5 (see 7.1.8) is followed by the obligatory antithesis tagmeme manifested by C_5 (see 7.1.9). Examples of K_5 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a)	ti?i^{2}	kuwe?^{32}	to^{2}	sa^{3}	kuwe?^{32}	tihyo^{23}	
K_5 =	The			Athe			
	heavy	pig	lard	light	pig	bone	

A fat pig is heavy, but a bony pig is light.

(b)	sa^{3}	kwitu^{23}	kwite?^{3}	ti?i^{2}	kwitu^{23}	ndi?ya^{34}	
K_5 =	The			Athe			
	light	chicken	pullet	heavy	chicken	pretty	

A young pullet is light but a good-looking hen is heavy.

(c)	tlyu^{3}	nte^{34}	kula^{3}	luwe^{2}	nte^{34}	kune?^{1}	
K_5 =	The			Athe			
	big	people	old	small	people	young	

Adults are big but children are small.

6.2. There are three colon types in class K_{10}, and these types allow of much greater complexity within their members than those of class K_0. This makes the co-occurrence subtypes greater in number and in membership.

It is in this class that a pause may occur between members, particularly when they are complex.

6.2.1. K_{11}, the axiom-elaboration colon, might be considered as suspiciously like a complex form of K_1. However, in K_{11} the same predicate is not always repeated and the second member rarely repeats the clause or colon structure of the first member. Also, in K_{11} either the subject referent is the same in the two members or the cause or goal of a directed verb in the first member is the subject in the second member. The aspect of the predicate in the first member is usually the same as that in the second member, and the aspect-sequence which most commonly occurs is continuative-continuative. K_{11} may be graphically represented thus:

K_{11} = + Ax + Elb

The obligatory axiom tagmeme, manifested by C_1, C_2, C_5, C_{11}, C_{13}, C_{21}, K_1, K_3, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, a primary sentence (S_1), a reason sentence (S_{12}), a comment sentence (S_{21}), or a quotative sentence (S_{32}) (see 7.2.1), is followed by the obligatory elaboration tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, C_{21}, K_1, K_2, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, or a reason sentence (S_{12}), a balance sentence (S_{15}), a purpose sentence (S_{11}), an address sentence (S_{31}), or a quotative sentence (S_{32}) (see 7.2.2).

There are thirteen co-occurrence subtypes of K_{11}. Subtypes (i) - (x) are classified according to certain manifestations of the axiom tagmeme. Other manifestations of the axiom tagmeme encountered to date occur only with the elaboration tagmeme manifested by K_4, a reason sentence (S_{12}), or C_1, and these comprise subtypes (xi) - (xiii). Subtype (i): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by C_1 the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{13}, K_1, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, or a balance sentence (S_{15}). Subtype (ii): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by C_2, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_{11}, K_{12},

or a balance sentence (S_{15}), a purpose sentence (S_{11}), or a quotative sentence (S_{32}). Subtype (iii): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by C_5, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{13}, K_4, or K_{11}. Subtype (iv): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_2, C_{11}, or K_4. Subtype (v): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by K_4, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_{11} or K_4. Subtype (vi): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by K_{11}, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_{12}, K_2, or S_{32}. Subtype (vii): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by S_{32}, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by K_{11}, S_{31}, or S_{32}. Subtype (viii): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by C_{21}, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_{21} or K_1. Subtype (ix): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by C_{13}, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_1 or K_1. Subtype (x): When the axiom tagmeme is manifested by K_{13}, the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by K_{13}. Subtype (xi): The axiom tagmeme may be manifested by S_1 or S_{21} when the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by K_4. Subtype (xii): The axiom tagmeme may be manifested by K_{12} or S_{12} when the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by S_{12}. Subtype (xiii): The axiom tagmeme may be further manifested by K_1 or K_3 when the elaboration tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Examples of K_{11} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	ha^4	tsa^{43}		ska^2	kanǫ^4	su?wa^1	biya?^{2}
K_{11} =	Ax: C_1					Elb: K_{12} [Sit: S_{15} <Bal	
	negation	will-go-you		one	competition	will-put	measure-your
	?yǫ^{43}	lo?o^1	su?wa^1	biyǫ?^{43}	?i^2	nyǫ?ǫ^{43}	
		BHi	Bald>			Res: K_1 <Sta	
	to-me	with	will-put	measure-my	pronoun	looking, dir.	

nu^{2} ti^{2} la^{3} nyo^{43} nu^{2} sa^{2} la^{3}
Sta>]
which heavy more looking, dir. which light more

Won't you have a competition with me where you set your weight against mine and we will see which is the heavier and which is the lighter.

subtype (ii)

ti^{2} nyo^{43} tšalyu^{21} nsu?wi^{1} ?ni^{3}
K_{11} = Ax: C_2
towards kind-of world there-is animal

nsu?wi^{32} lo^{3} kitše^{1} lo^{2} nsu?wi^{32} ni?^{2} kiši?^{3}
Elb: S_{15} [Bal BHi Bald]
there-is in town and there-is inside weed

All over the world there are animals, both in the towns and in the countryside.

subtype (iii)

nu?wi^{32} la^{2} ?a^{1} ?i^{1} šni?^{3} ?no^{3}
K_{11} = Ax: C_5
you-familiar fierce-you very to dog of-we-inclusive

ha^{4} nda^{1} kyha^{3} ku^{2} šni?^{3}
Elb: K_{11} [Ax: K_{12} <Sit Res>
negation giving-you tortilla will-eat dog

?a^{4} no^{2} nda^{43}
Elb: C_1]
negation thing giving-you

You are very horrid to our dog -- you won't give it tortillas to eat, you don't give it anything at all!

subtype (iv)

šiya?^{2} ti^{3} ngiyo^{32} tsu?we^{32} wa^{2}
K_{11} = Ax: C_{11} Elb: K_4 [Pred Dev]
again only coming-he, dir. good completion

ndukwa^{1} ska^{3} kwiyu^{34} kila^{3} tsu?we^{32} bra^{3} ko?^{2}
is-on-he one mule male good then

He is just coming back again and it is well that he is mounted on a good horse.

subtype (v)

nde^{2} tnyǫ^{32} hyǫ^{32} ngiyǫ^{32} tę?ę^{1} ?wǫ^{3}
K_{11} = Ax:K_4 [Dev Pred] Elb:C_{11}
this work will-return-I coming-I,dir. will-stay to-you-pl.
The reason I am returning is to fetch all of you.

subtype (vi)

ndiya^{21} ?i^{3} ngila^{32} ?i^{2} šа^{2} msi^{2}
K_{11} = Ax:K_{11} [Ax Elb]
is-belonging-it pronoun arriving-he pronoun light evening

bra^{3} kǫ?^{2} ngila^{32} ku^{32} kyha^{3}
Elb:K_2 [Act Inst]
then arriving-he will-eat-he tortilla
It is there because when it is evening he always arrives to eat his meal.

subtype (vii)

kwi?^{1} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} šа?^{3}
K_{11} = Ax:S_{32} [Quot:S_{31} <Ads> Qt:C_{21}
same said person different

kwi?^{1} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} lka^{4} ?i^{2}
Elb:S_{31} [Ads:K_4 <Dev Pred>]
same animal this is pronoun
"That's the one!" said the Mexican, "that's exactly the same animal."

subtype (viii)

yhwi^{1} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ?i^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3}
K_{11} = Ax:C_{21} Elb:K_1 [Sta
said-he said person to cook to person

yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ?i^{1} nu^{3} kwǫ?ǫ^{1} ndikye?^{32} nǫ^{2}
Sta]
said person to the-particular female cooking thing

ndšku^{1} ne?^{3}

eating person
said he to his cook, the woman who cooked his food

subtype (ix)

?ni^{3} nu^{3} kwityi?^{32} ?i$_{\zeta}^{2}$ šа?^{3}
K_{11} = Ax: C_{13}
animal the-particular frog pronoun different

nyo$_{\zeta}$?o$_{\zeta}^{43}$ ko$_{\zeta}$?^{2} ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4}
Elb: K_{1} [Sta
looking, dir. that-particular animal good is

ko$_{\zeta}$?^{2} ?ni^{3} ndšku^{1} nte$_{\zeta}^{34}$ lka^{4} ko$_{\zeta}$?^{2}
Sta]
that-particular animal eating people is that-one

The frog, that is a different looking animal, a good animal, an animal which people eat.

subtype (x)

mdyi^{1} yku^{32} ti^{3} ne?^{3} ?i$_{\zeta}^{2}$ mdo?o^{1} ne?^{3}
K_{11} = Ax: K_{13} [Init Seq: K_{3} <Ant
finished, dir. ate only person pronoun emerged person

ngiya^{43} ne?^{2} ndo?o^{1} ne?^{3} ndiya^{21} tukwa^{32}
Cons>] Elb: K_{13} [Init: K_{3} <Ant Cons>
going person emerging person was-belonging will-be-on

ne?^{2} kwiyu^{34} ?i$_{\zeta}^{1}$ ne?^{3} ndo?o^{1} ngiya^{43} ne?^{2} bra^{3} ko$_{\zeta}$?^{2}
Seq: K_{3}]
person mule to person emerging going person then

He finished eating it and went out, then he mounted his mule and left.

subtype (xi)

ko$_{\zeta}$?^{2} nda^{43} ne?^{3} nda^{32} ngusu?wa^{43}
K_{11} = Ax: S_{21} [ER Comt] Elb: K_{4} [Pred Dev: K_{3} <Ant
that's-what giving person giving put

nkye?^{23} ti^{3} kalu^{4}
Cons>]
cooking only soup
That's what they gave, what had been put in the soup and cooked.

subtype (xii)

tsu?we^{32} ndšku^{32} lo^{2} kǫ?^{2} tša?^{2} ndšku^{32} wǫ^{2} ?i^{3}
K_{11} = Ax:S_{12} [Rea RHi Out]
good eating and that's-why eating you-pl. pronoun

nǫ^{2} ndšku^{32} ntę^{34} lka^{4} kǫ?^{2} tša?^{2} ndšku^{32} wǫ^{2} ?i^{3}
Elb:S_{12} [Rea RHi Out]
thing eating people is that's-why eating you-pl. pronoun
It's a good thing, that's why you eat it -- a thing that people usually eat, that's why you are all eating it.

subtype (xiii)

ndo?o^{1} ngiya^{32} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2} ngiya^{32} šiya?^{2}
K_{11} = Ax:K_{3} [Ant Cons] Elb:C_{1}
emerging-he going-he then going-he again
Going out he left again then.

6.2.2. K_{12}, the situation-result colon, might be considered as suspiciously like a complex form of K_{2}. K_{12}, however, may not be transformed into a reason sentence (S_{12}), neither member is ever manifested by C_{5}, and there are restrictions as to the aspect sequence in the predicates of the two members. The possible aspect sequences which may occur in K_{12} are intentive-intentive, continuative-intentive, continuative-continuative, completive-intentive, completive-continuative, or completive-completive. This type is not reversible. K_{12} may be graphically represented thus:

K_{12} = + Sit + Res

The obligatory situation tagmeme, manifested by C_{1}, C_{2}, C_{3}, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_{1}, K_{2}, K_{4}, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, a purpose sentence (S_{11}), or a balance sentence (S_{15}) (see 7.2.3), is followed by

the obligatory result tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{22}, K_1, K_3, K_4, K_{12}, or a quotative sentence (S_{32}) (see 7.2.4).

There are eleven co-occurrence subtypes of K_{12}. Subtypes (i) - (x) are classified according to certain manifestations of the result tagmeme. The other manifestations of the result tagmeme encountered to date all occur with the situation tagmeme manifested only by C_1 and comprise subtype (xi). Subtype (i): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_1, K_2, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, a purpose sentence (S_{11}), or a balance sentence (S_{15}) when the result tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, K_4, or purpose sentence (S_{11}) when the result tagmeme is manifested by C_2. Subtype (iii): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, or C_{13} when the result tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iv): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or K_{13} when the result tagmeme is manifested by K_4. Subtype (v): The situation tagmeme is manifested by C_1 or K_1 when the result tagmeme is manifested by K_3. Subtype (vi): The situation tagmeme is manifested by C_1 or C_{13} when the result tagmeme is manifested by C_{12}. Subtype (vii): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by C_2 or K_{12} when the result tagmeme is manifested by C_3. Subtype (viii): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or C_2 when the result tagmeme is manifested by K_{12}. Subtype (ix): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by K_{11} when the result tagmeme is manifested by a quotative sentence (S_{32}). Subtype (x): The situation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or by a balance sentence (S_{15}) when the result tagmeme is manifested by K_1. Subtype (xi): When the situation tagmeme is manifested by C_1 the result tagmeme may be further manifested by C_4 or C_{22}. Examples of K_{12} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

ha^{4} ndi$_{ɛ}$?i$_{ɛ}^{23}$ nyanu^{4} ni^{2} tš̌i$_{ɛ}$?^{1} ti^{3} ku^{32}
K_{12} = Sit: C_2 Res: C_1
negation is-living Justiniano now a-little only will-eat
Justiniano is not here at present so just a little is eaten.

subtype (ii)

wa^{2} ngite$_{ɛ}^{32}$ ne?^{3} nyo$_{ɛ}$?o$_{ɛ}^{1}$ tyi^{2} ndi$_{ɛ}$?i$_{ɛ}^{32}$ bra^{3} ko$_{ɛ}$?^{2}
K_{12} = Sit: C_1 Res: C_2
completion entering person inside-house own is-living then
They entered their own house and were at home then.

subtype (iii)

lye^{32} ?a^{1} ngwa^{4} kwi$_{ɛ}$?i$_{ɛ}^{3}$ ngwitš̌a^{32} o$_{ɛ}^{2}$ yka^{3} tnu$_{ɛ}^{3}$
K_{12} = Sit: C_{13} Res: C_{11}
much very was,dir. wind broke,dir. it tree great
The wind was very strong and blew down a huge tree.

subtype (iv)

la^{2} kwa^{3} la^{2} tyu$_{ɛ}^{2}$ hwaki^{2} lo?o^{1}
K_{12} = Sit: K_{13} [Init: C_{11} Seq: S_{15} <Bal BHi
towards there more will-stand-you,dir. will-pull-you with

hwaki$_{ɛ}^{1}$ nyo$_{ɛ}$?o$_{ɛ}^{43}$ nu^{2} tsa^{2} la^{3} ndyu$_{ɛ}^{32}$
Bald>] Res: K_4 [Pred Dev]
will-pull-I looking,dir. which tight more standing,dir.
You stand over there and then you pull against me and I will pull against you so that we will see who is able to stand the firmest.

subtype (v)

ngulo^{32} hakwa^{3} msu^{34} ngulo^{32} hakwa^{3} breta^{4}
K_{12} = Sit: K_1 [Sta Sta
took-out-he four servant took-out-he four crowbar

ngulo^{32} hakwa^{3} pala^{4} li?ya^{1} ngiya^{32} bra^{3} ko$_{ɛ}$?^{2}
Sta] Res: K_3 [Ant Cons]
took-out-he four spade carrying going then
He sent four servants with four crowbars and four spades which they went off carrying.

subtype (vi)

?a^{4} ska^{2} ka^{4} nǫ^{2} ?wǫ^{3}

K_{12} = Sit: C_{13}

negation one will-be thing to-you-pl./respectful

tyi?i^{32} ?wǫ^{3} nde^{3}

Res: C_{12}

will-be-living to-you-pl. here

Nothing will happen to your things if they stay here for you.

subtype (vii)

ndi?i^{23} reyi^{4} kitše^{3} lka^{4} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2}

K_{12} = Sit: C_{2} Res: C_{3}

is-living king town is then

There is a king living there so it is a town.

subtype (viii)

kuta^{21} ska^{3} sa^{3} šu?wi^{1} ti?a^{3} ku?u^{32}

K_{12} = Sit: C_{1} Res: K_{12} [Sit Res]

will-give-you one cup will-put-you,dir. water will-drink-I

Give me a cup of water to drink.

subtype (ix)

?ni^{3} la^{2} lka^{4} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} ha^{4} ndšku^{1} nte^{34}

K_{12} = Sit: K_{11} [Ax: S_{32} <Quot QT> Elb: S_{32} <Quot

animal fierce is here said-he negation eating people

nde^{3} yhwi^{1} kaha^{1} nte^{34} si^{1}

QT>] Res: S_{32} [Quot: S_{31} <Ads: S_{14} (Inj CnHi

here said-he will-die people if

ku^{2} ne?^{3} nde^{3} yhwi^{1}

Cond)> QT]

will-eat person here said-he

This is a dangerous animal which people do not eat because they die if they eat it.

subtype (x)

	mskwe$_{\underline{c}}^{32}$	yu?wa^{32}	nde^{3}	nyo$_{\underline{c}}$?o$_{\underline{c}}^{43}$	sa^{2}	la^{3}
K_{12} =	Sit: C_1			Res: K_1 [Sta		
	climbed	load	here	looking, dir.	light	more

nyo$_{\underline{c}}$?o$_{\underline{c}}^{43}$	ti$_{\underline{c}}$?i$_{\underline{c}}^{2}$	la^{3}
Sta]		
looking, dir.	heavy	more

The loads were lifted to see which was the lighter and which the heavier.

subtype (xi)

	nda^{43}	nu^{3}	kwo$_{\underline{c}}$?o$_{\underline{c}}^{1}$	kyha^{3}
K_{12} =	Sit: C_1			
	giving	the-particular	female	tortilla

ku^{2}	lomsa^{34}	ne?^{3}
Res: C_4		
will-eat	breakfast-of	person

The woman gave tortillas for him to eat for his breakfast.

6.2.3. K_{13}, the initiation-sequel colon, might be considered as suspiciously like a complex form of K_3. K_{13}, however, allows of much greater complexity within the members, does not necessarily have a verb of position or motion in the first member and often repeats and expands the subject in the second member. This type is not reversible. K_{13} may be graphically expressed thus:

K_{13} = + Init + Seq

The obligatory initiation tagmeme, manifested by C_1, C_2, C_4, C_{11}, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_{12}, or a purpose sentence (S_{11}), or a comment sentence (S_{21}) (see 7.2.5), is followed by the obligatory sequel tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_2, C_{11}, K_2, K_3, K_4, or a balance sentence (S_{15}) (see 7.2.6).

There are six subtypes of K_{13}. These co-occurrence subtypes (i) - (v) are classified according to certain manifestations of the sequel tagmeme. Other manifestations of

the sequel tagmeme occur only when the initiation tagmeme is manifested by C_1 and comprise subtype (vi). Subtype (i): The initiation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_2, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_{12}, or a purpose sentence (S_{11}) when the sequel tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The initiation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, K_2, or K_{12} when the sequel tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iii): The initiation tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_4, C_{11}, K_3, or S_{21} when the sequel tagmeme is manifested by K_3. Subtype (iv): The initiation tagmeme is manifested by K_3 when the sequel tagmeme is manifested by K_4. Subtype (v): The initiation tagmeme may be manifested by C_2, C_{11}, or a comment sentence (S_{21}) when the sequel tagmeme is manifested by a balance sentence (S_{15}). Subtype (vi): When the initiation tagmeme is manifested by C_1, the sequel tagmeme may be further manifested by C_2 or K_2. Examples of K_{13} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	ngwilyu^{32}		wa^{2}	mso?o^{43}	?i̯^{2}	o̯^{3}
K_{13} =	Init:K_{12} [Sit:K_2 <Act		Inst>			
	fell-over-he		completion	knocked-out	to	them

ngusti^{1}	bra^{3}	ko̯?^{2}	yiha?^{43}	bra^{3}	ko̯?^{2}
Res:C_1]			Seq:C_1		
collapsed-he	then		slept-he	then	

Collapsing he fell over completely knocked out by them, so then he slept.

subtype (ii)

	ngusno̯^{43}	?ya^{1}	nu^{3}		šni̯?^{3}	biya?^{2}	l?we^{3}
K_{13} =	Init:K_2 [Act						
	ran	carrying	the-particular		dog	measure	half

nsu?wi^{1}	mšk̆alyu^{4}	ngila^{32}	se̯?e̯^{3}	ndukwa^{43}	nu^{2}	
Inst]		Seq:C_{11}				
there-is	mezcal	arriving	place	is-on	the-particular	

ʔo^{4}

coyote

The dog ran off carrying a measure and a half of mezcal, then arrived at the place where the coyote was sitting.

subtype (iii)

mdyi^{1} yku^{32} ti^{3} kyha^{3} ʔi$^{2}_{\wr}$ ndoʔo^{1} yu^{3}
K_{13} = Init: C_1 Seq: K_3 [Ant
finished, dir. ate-he only tortilla pronoun emerging man

ya^{43} yu^{2} loʔo^{1} bra^{3} kǫʔ^{2}
Cons]
went man with-him then

The man just finished eating his meal and going out went with him then.

subtype (iv)

ndoʔo^{1} yu^{3} ya^{32} nǫ^{2} yu^{3} siʔyu^{32} yku^{3} bra^{3} kǫʔ^{2}
K_{13} = Init: K_3 [Ant Cons] Seq: K_4 [Dev Pred]
emerging man went thing man cut ate then
The men emerged and went, and later ate the things they cut.

subtype (v)

bra^{3} kǫʔ^{2} ngutyu^{32} ti^{1} wta^{34} kǫʔ^{2} mdyu^{32}
K_{13} = Init: S_{21} [Top ER Comt]
then fell-down rope cow that's-the-one fell-on

ʔi$^{2}_{\wr}$ kaʔyu^{1} yaʔ^{1} ytsu^{32} lo^{2} ska^{3} ti^{3} tiru^{4} nsuʔwi^{1}
Seq: S_{15} [Bal BHi Bald]
pronoun five times erupted and one only bullet there-is

niʔ^{2} pistola^{4} ʔi$^{2}_{\wr}$ šа^{2} ngiha^{43}

inside pistol pronoun light finding-he

Next, down fell the cow rope - that is what fell on it - and the pistol fired five times, yet there was only one bullet in it when he discovered it.

subtype (vi)

	msko?^{1}	tukwi^{1}	ne?^{3}	?i^{2}	tukwa^{32}	ne?^{3}
K_{13} =	Init: C_1				Seq: C_2	
	tied	will-be-up	person	pronoun	will-be-on	person

ti^{1} yni^{2}

rope neck-it

They tied it up high and will put the rope on its neck.

7. Colon-Level Tagmemes

A description of the colon tagmemes follows. Since the colon types are essentially bipartite, there are no peripheral tagmemes at this level.

7.1. Tagmemes comprising the simple colons of class K_0 may be manifested by either clauses or colons but not by sentences. In general there is less complexity in the internal structure of such tagmemes.

7.1.1. Statement. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, C_{21}, or K_4.

Sta:C_1 nguhwi^1 sti^{32} 'died father-his' (His father is dead.); Sta:C_2 ndiya^{21} rsu̱^{31} ?i̱^{3} 'is-belonging reason pronoun' (He had a reason...); Sta:C_3 ?ni^3 šu̱?^{4} lka^4 ko̱?^{2} 'animal tasty is that-particular' (That is a tasty animal.); Sta:C_{11} štya^{32} ska^3 kitu̱?^{3} tlyu^2 'will-put-she,dir. one pot big' (She will put on a big pot.); Sta:C_{12} tsu?we^{32} yu?wi^{43} šiyo̱^{23} kalu^4 kwityi?^{32} 'good there-was,dir. flavouring soup frog' (The frog soup was well flavoured.); Sta:C_{13} ša?^{3} yi?o̱^{43} ko̱?^{2} 'different looked,dir. that-particular' (That one has a different appearance.); Sta:C_{21} yhwi̱^{32} ne?^{3} ?i̱^{1} tyi^2 škwa^3 ?i̱^{1} ne?^{3} 'said person to cook to person' (he said to his cook);

	ngite?^{1}	sa?a^2	ti̱?^{43}	ku̱^{32}	lomso̱^{43}
Sta = K_4 [Pred				Dev]	
	meaning-uncertain	very	em.-verbr.-I	will-eat-I	breakfast-my

I was very hungry for my breakfast.

The statement tagmeme occurs only in K_1 and must be repeated once, while it may be repeated twice.

7.1.2. Activity. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_5, C_{11}, C_{13}, K_1, K_3, K_4, or K_{12}.

Act:C_1 tsa?o$_{\text{ˌ}}^{43}$ sku?we^2 kya^{43} 'will-go-I Juquila tomorrow' (I am going to Juquila tomorrow.); Act:C_5 kuliya?^{32} tš̌anyi^2 'rich-he truly' (He is really rich.); Act: C_{11} š̌u?wi^1 to$_{\text{ˌ}}^2$ yni^2 o$_{\text{ˌ}}^3$ 'will-put,dir. lard neck we-inclusive' (Lard is put on our necks.); Act:C_{13} ndš̌ka^{32} se$_{\text{ˌ}}$?e$_{\text{ˌ}}^3$ yu^3 ngu š̌u?^{3} 'is-he,dir. place man elderly' (He is caused to be in the old men's place.);

(a) nsu?wi^{32} tne$_{\text{ˌ}}^3$ nsu?wi^{32} tne$_{\text{ˌ}}^3$ nsu?wi^{32} tne$_{\text{ˌ}}^3$
Act = K_1 [Sta Sta Sta]
there-is blood there-is blood there-is blood
There was blood, and more blood and more blood.

(b) ndo?o^1 yu^3 ngiya^{43} yu^2
Act = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging man going man
Emerging the man went away.

(c) lye^{32} ?a^1 ndš̌ku^1 nte$_{\text{ˌ}}^{34}$ ko$_{\text{ˌ}}$?^{2}.
Act = K_4 [Pred Dev]
much very eating people that-particular
People eat it a lot.

(d) ha^4 kuta^{21} no$_{\text{ˌ}}^2$ la^2 ku^{32} kuwi?^{32}
Act = K_{12} [Sit Res]
negation will-give-you thing fierce will-eat baby

?i$_{\text{ˌ}}^2$

pronoun
Don't give your baby other than bland things to eat.

The activity tagmeme occurs only in K_2.

7.1.3. Instigation. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, K_4, or K_{11}. It is the manifestations of

this tagmeme that determine the eight co-occurrence subtypes of K_2.

Inst:C_1 ndšga^3 kisu^{32} wa^2 nguwę^{32} 'every avocado completion ripened' (All the avocados are ripe.); Inst:C_2 ngwǫ?ǫ^1 tiru^4 ?į^2 'was-adjoining bullet pronoun' (The bullet hit him.); Inst:C_3 nǫ^2 ?yǫ^{43} lka^4 'thing of-mine is-it' (It is mine.); Inst:C_4 ndihi^{32} kǫ?^{2} ?į^1 ne?^{3} 'gaining that-particular of person' (...getting those of theirs); Inst:C_5 lyu?^{1} ?a^2 'lesser-you very' (You are very small.); Inst:C_{11} ya^2 ndyo?o^{32} ?į^1 salbahe^4 'went emerging-it,dir. to ruffian' (It [the blood] had come from the ruffian.);

(a) šų?^{4} ?ni^3 lka^4 ?į^2
Inst = K_4 [Dev Pred]
tasty animal is pronoun
It is a tasty animal.

(b) tše^2 nyǫ?ǫ^{43} nu^2 kitsu?^{32} šnyǫ^1 tšanyi^2
Inst = K_{11} [Ax Elb]
bad looking,dir. the spotted will-nauseate,dir. truly

bra^3 kǫ?^{2}
then
The man with the infected spots looked so unsightly that anyone seeing him would be nauseated.

The instigation tagmeme occurs only in K_2.

7.1.4. Antecedent. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_{11}, C_{22}, or K_1.

Ant:C_1 ngusnǫ^{43} 'ran-he' (He ran.); Ant:C_{11} yǫ^{32} ne?^{3} nsu?wi^{32} 'came,dir. person there-is' (Those who were there came [this way].); Ant:C_{22} hyǫ^{32} tų?^{43} 'will-return-I for-sure-I' (I will certainly come back.);

	ngudo?o^{32}	yu^{3}	ngudo?o^{32}	yu^{3}	
Ant = K_1	[Sta		Sta]		
	emerged	man	emerged	man	
	The man emerged.				

The antecedent tagmeme occurs only in K_3.

7.1.5. Consequent. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_4, C_{11}, or K_1. It is the manifestations of this tagmeme that determine the five co-occurrence subtypes of K_3.

Cons:C_1 kulo^{32} ?i^{1} ndla^{4} 'will-draw-out-it to cloud' (It [the sun] will emerge from the cloud.); Cons:C_4 ku^{32} tlya^{32} wo^{3} 'will-eat dinner-of you-pl./respectful' (You will eat your dinner.); Cons:C_{11} tyo^{43} tnyi^{34} ?i^{2} 'will-give-I,dir. money pronoun' (I will pay you the money.); Cons:C_{12} ndi?o^{1} 'is-there/staying-he' (He is staying [in one place].);

	ngiya^{32}	ytsa?^{1}	yu^{3}	bra^{3}	ko?^{2}	ngiya^{32}	ytsa?^{1}	yu^{3}	bra^{3}	ko?^{2}
Cons = K_1	[Sta					Sta]				
	going	told	man	then		going	told	man	then	
	The man went and told then.									

The consequent tagmeme occurs only in K_3.

7.1.6. Predication. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, or C_{13}, and never by a colon type. It is the manifestations of this tagmeme that determine the five co-occurrence subtypes of K_4.

Pred:C_1 wa^{2} snu?^{43} tso^{23} no?o^{43} 'completion eight days seeing-I' (I saw a week ago); Pred:C_3 lka^{4} ne?^{3} 'is person'; Pred:C_5 wa^{2} tsu?we^{32} 'completion good' (it was good...); Pred:C_{11} škye?^{2} ti?^{43} 'think-I,dir.' (I think about...); Pred:C_{13} ha^{4} ndška^{43} ?a^{3} 'negation is-being-it, dir. more' (it is no longer able...).

The predication tagmeme occurs only in K_4.

7.1.7. Development. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_2, K_3, K_4, or K_{11}.

Dev:C_1 kuhwi?^{43} ?i^{2} ni^{2} 'will-sell-I pronoun now' (Now I shall sell it.); Dev:C_2 ndiya^{21} ska^{3} ti^{3} tu?kwi^{21} 'is-belonging one only road' (There is only one road.); Dev:C_3 lka^{4} kwa^{3} ?i^{2} 'is-there there pronoun' (what is there of yours...); Dev:C_4 ku^{32} lomsa^{34} ne?^{3} 'will-eat breakfast-of person' (He will eat his breakfast.); Dev:C_5 nde^{3} tnyo^{32} 'here work' (this is the job...); Dev:C_{11} nu^{3} tsa^{3} la^{3} ndyu^{32} 'which tight more standing,dir.' (The firmest will remain standing.); Dev:C_{12} tyu?wi^{32} te?^{34} nde^{3} ?yo^{21} 'there-will-be-it,dir. cloth here to-me' (You will mend this garment of mine.); Dev:C_{13} nyo?o^{43} no^{2} ska^{3} ?ni^{3} 'looking,dir. name one animal' (the name of a single animal appears...);

(a) ngusu?wa^{43} nkye?^{23} ti^{3} kalu^{4}
Dev = K_2 [Act Inst]
put-she cooking only soup
She put it to cook in the soup.

(b) ndyo?o^{1} kwiyu^{34} ?i^{2} ngiya^{32} bra^{3} ko?^{2}
Dev = K_3 [Ant Cons]
walking,dir. mule pronoun going-he then
He is making his mule walk and going away.

(c) taka^{43} ?i^{2} kulo^{32} ti?a^{3}
Dev = K_4 [Pred Dev]
will-be,dir. pronoun will-draw-out-you water
Will you be able to produce water?

(d) ku?ni^{32} tšа?^{32} tsu?we^{32}
Dev = K_{11} [Ax
will-make-you thing good

šu?wa^{32} te?^{34} nde^{3} ?yo^{21}
Elb]
will-mend-you cloth here to-me
Please would you mend this garment of mine?

The development tagmeme fills the role of logical object, goal, or location of the predication tagmeme and occurs only in K_4.

7.1.8. Thesis. This tagmeme is manifested only by C_5. The: C_5 $ti_{\varsigma}?i_{\varsigma}^{2}$ nte_{ς}^{34} tnu_{ς}^{3} 'heavy people great' (A large person is heavy.)

The thesis tagmeme occurs only in K_5.

7.1.9. Antithesis. This tagmeme is manifested only by C_5. Athe: C_5 sa^{3} nte_{ς}^{34} $luwe^{2}$ ti^{3} 'light people small only' (A small person is light.)

The antithesis tagmeme occurs only in K_5.

7.2. The colon types of class K_{10} by definition have tagmemes of greater complexity than those of class K_0. Manifestations of these complex tagmemes often include sentences as well as clauses or further colons.

7.2.1. Axiom. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_5, C_{11}, C_{13}, C_{21}, K_1, K_3, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, a primary sentence (S_1), a reason sentence (S_{12}), a comment sentence (S_{21}), or a quotative sentence (S_{32}). It is the manifestations of this tagmeme that determine the twelve co-occurrence subtypes of K_{11}, but K_1 and K_3 occur manifesting the axiom tagmeme only in subtype (xii).

Ax: C_1 ha^{4} tsa^{43} ska^{2} kan_{ς}^{4} 'negation will-go-you one competition' (Will you have a competition with me?); Ax: C_2 ti^{2} $ny_{\varsigma}?_{\varsigma}^{43}$ $t\check{s}alyu^{21}$ $nsu?wi^{1}$ $?ni^{3}$ 'from kind-of world there-is animal' (All over the world there are animals.); Ax: C_5 $nu?wi_{\varsigma}^{32}$ la^{2} $?a^{1}$ $?i_{\varsigma}^{1}$ $\check{s}ni_{\varsigma}?^{3}$ $?n_{\varsigma}^{3}$ 'you-familiar fierce very to dog of-ours-inclusive' (You are very unkind to our dog.); Ax: C_{11} $m\check{s}tya^{43}$ $?i_{\varsigma}^{2}$ hi^{12} $?i_{\varsigma}^{1}$ $_{\varsigma}^{3}$ bra^{3} $k_{\varsigma}?^{2}$ 'put, dir. pronoun ashes to them then' (They had put ashes over the

thing.); Ax:C_{13} ʔni^{3} nu^{3} kwityi?^{32} ʔi̱^{2} šaʔ^{3} nyo̱ʔo̱^{43} ko̱ʔ^{2} 'animal the-particular frog pronoun different looking,dir. that-particular' (The frog, that animal appears different.); Ax:C_{21} yhwi̱^{32} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} 'said cook';

(a) ndo̱ʔo̱^{1} tškwo̱^{43} ndo̱ʔo̱^{1} tškwo̱^{43}
Ax = K_1 [Sta Sta]
walking metal walking metal
The bells were ringing and ringing.

(b) ndoʔo^{1} ngiya^{32} bra^{3} ko̱ʔ^{2}
Ax = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging-he going-he then
Emerging he went.

(c) nde^{3} tnyo̱^{32} hyo̱^{32}
Ax = K_4 [Dev Pred]
here work will-return-I
This is what I will come back to do.

(d) ndiya^{21} ʔi̱^{2}
Ax = K_{11} [Ax
is-belonging-he to-him

ngila^{32} ʔi̱^{2} ša^{2} msi̱^{2} bra^{3} ko̱ʔ^{2}
Elb]
arriving-he pronoun light evening then
He was there (where the other one was) having arrived because it was evening then.

(e) ngiteʔ^{1} tiʔ^{32} neʔ^{3} ku^{1} neʔ^{3} kyha^{3}
Ax = K_{12} [Sit Res]
are-hungry person will-eat person tortilla
They are hungry so they will eat a meal.

(f) ndyi^{1} yku^{32} ti^{3} neʔ^{3} ʔi̱^{2}
Ax = K_{13} [Init
finishing,dir. ate only person pronoun

ndo?o[1] ne?[3] ngiya[43] ne?[2]
Seq: K_3 <Ant Cons>]
emerging person going person
He finished eating it, went out and went away.

(g) ni[2] ha[4] ndu?u[32] ?a[4] snye?[32] ?i[2]
Ax = S_1 [J Epn]
now negation conceiving more child-of pronoun
Now she isn't producing any more children (calves).

(h) tsu?we[32] ndšku[32] ko?[2] tša?[2]
Ax = S_{12} [Rea: K_4 <Pred Dev> RHi·
good eating that's-why

ndšku[32] wo[2] ?i[3]
Out: C_1]
eating you-pl./respectful pronoun
It is good to eat, that's why you eat it.

(i) ko?[2] nda[43] ne?[3]
Ax = S_{21} [ER Comt]
that's-the-one giving person
That is the one that they gave.

(j) kye?[32] ?i[1] ?i[3] yhwi[1]
Ax = S_{32} [Quot QT]
cook to pronoun said-he
"Cook it" he said.

The axiom tagmeme occurs only in K_{11}.

7.2.2. Elaboration. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, C_{21}, K_1, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, a purpose sentence (S_{11}), a reason sentence (S_{12}), a balance sentence (S_{15}), an address sentence (S_{31}), or a quotative sentence (S_{32}).

Elb: C_1 yku[32] no[2] ko?[2] ?i[3] bra[3] ko?[2] 'ate-he thing that-particular pronoun then' (He ate that special thing of his then.); Elb: C_2 ndukwa[43] ti?a[2] bra[3] ko?[2] 'is-on water then' (There was water there then.); Elb: C_3 yu[3] ša?[3] tnu[3]

lka^{4} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2} 'man different great is-he then' (He is an important man [not a Chatino].); Elb:C_5 tikye?^{2} nu^{3} kaha^{43} ǫ^{2} 'hot which will-die we-inclusive' (It is hot enough to kill us all.); Elb:C_{11} ngiyǫ^{32} tę?ę^{2} ?wǫ^{3} 'coming-he,dir. will-be-staying to-you-pl./respectful' (He is coming to fetch you all.); Elb:C_{12} ndyukwa^{43} ne?^{2} ni?^{2} nyǫ?ǫ^{1} 'is-on,dir. person inside inside-house' (They are sitting inside the house.); Elb:C_{13} ha^{4} ndška^{43} ?a^{3} ni^{2} 'negation is-being-he,dir. more now' (He is unable any more now.); Elb:C_{21} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwǫ?ǫ^{1} ndikye?^{32} nǫ^{2} ndšku^{1} ne?^{3} 'said the-particular female cooking thing eating person' (said the woman who cooked his food...);

(a) yku^{2} ne?^{3} kye^{2} kwityi?^{32}
Elb = K_1 [Sta
ate person head-of frog

yku^{2} ne?^{3} ti^{2} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} kwityi?^{32}
Sta]
ate person from kind-of frog
He ate the frog's head and he ate the frog's body.

(b) ngila^{32} ku^{32} kyha^{3}
Elb = K_2 [Act Inst]
arriving-he will-eat-he tortilla
He is arriving to eat his meal.

(c) ha^{4} ndška^{43} ?a^{3} ku?u^{32} snye?^{2} ?i^{3}
Elb = K_4 [Pred Dev]
negation is-being-it,dir. more will-live child-of pronoun
It (the cow) is unable to conceive offspring any more.

(d) kwa^{3} ndšku^{1} ne?^{3} ha^{3} štlya^{34} kwa^{3} ndi?o^{32}
Elb = K_{11} [Ax Elb:K_1 <Sta
there eating person tortilla Spanish there drinking

ne?^{3} mškalyu^{4} kwa^{3} ndi?o^{32} ne?^{3} lkwi^{3}
Sta>]
person mezcal there drinking person tepache
They are there eating sweetbread and drinking mezcal and tepache.

(e) ha^{4} ndi$_{\text{ɛ}}$?i$_{\text{ɛ}}^{23}$ nyanu^{4} ni^{2} tš̌i$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{1} ti^{3} ku^{32}
Elb = K_{12} [Sit Res]
negation is-living Justiniano now a-little only will-eat
Justiniano is not here now so just a little will be eaten.

(f) ndo?o^{1} ne?^{3} mdiya^{21} tukwa^{32} ne?^{2} kwiyu^{34}
Elb = K_{13} [Init: K_3 <Ant Cons>
emerging person was-there will-be-on person mule

?i$_{\text{ɛ}}^{1}$ ne?^{3} ndo?o^{1} ngiya^{43} ne?^{2} bra^{3} ko$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{2}
Seq: C_1]
to person emerging going person then
Going out, he mounted his mule and left then.

(g) no$_{\text{ɛ}}$?o$_{\text{ɛ}}^{1}$ nda^{32} tš̌a?^{2}
Elb = S_{11} [Set: K_4 <Pred Dev> PHi
seeing-you giving-he in-order-that

tiya^{43} ?yo$_{\text{ɛ}}^{21}$
Pur: C_2]
will-be-belonging-it to-me
When you see what he is giving you can bring some for me to have.

(h) no$_{\text{ɛ}}^{2}$ ndš̌ku^{32} nte$_{\text{ɛ}}^{34}$ lka^{4} ko$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{2} tš̌a?^{2}
Elb = S_{12} [Rea: C_3 RHi
thing eating people is that's-the-one thing

ndš̌ku^{32} wo$_{\text{ɛ}}^{2}$?i$_{\text{ɛ}}^{3}$
Out: C_1]
eating you-pl./respectful pronoun
It's a thing good for eating, that's why you eat it.

(i) kuta^{32} hakwa^{3} pala^{4} ?yo$_{\text{ɛ}}^{21}$ lo^{2}
Elb = S_{15} [Bal BHi
will-give-you four spade to-me and

kuta^{32} sno$_{\text{ɛ}}^{1}$ breta^{4}
Bald]
will-give-you three crowbar
Give me four spades and three crowbars.

(j) nu^{3} wa^{2} nǫ?ǫ^{43} ndšku^{1} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1}
Elb = S_{32} [Quot QT]
which completive seeing-I eating-I pronoun said-he
"which I saw and ate" he said.

The elaboration tagmeme elaborates on or explains the axiom tagmeme and occurs only in K_{11}.

7.2.3. Situation. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_1, K_2, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, a purpose sentence (S_{11}), or a balance sentence (S_{15}).

Sit:C_1 ngula^{1} kuwi?^{32} 'was-born baby' (The baby was born.); Sit:C_2 ndiya^{21} ki?ǫ^{4} libru^{34} ne?^{2} kwa^{3} 'is-belonging many book person there' (That person has a lot of books.); Sit:C_3 tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} tiye^{32} ne?^{3} 'good is stomach-of person' (It pleases them.); Sit:C_{11} štu^{1} ne?^{3} ?i^{1} ǫ^{3} 'will-pluck,dir. person to them' (They will pluck them [the fruit].); Sit:C_{12} tsu?we^{32} yu?wi^{43} kwityi?^{32} ni?^{2} ki?nǫ^{3} 'good there-was,dir. frog inside plate' (There was plenty of frog [meat] in the plate.); Sit:C_{13} lye^{32} ?a^{1} ngwa^{43} kwi?i^{3} 'much very was,dir. wind' (The wind was very strong.);

(a) ndukwǫ^{43} ndukwǫ^{43}
Sit = K_1 [Sta Sta]
is-on-I is-on-I
I am sitting here.

(b) ngwilyu^{32} wa^{2} mso?o^{43} ?i^{1} ne?^{3}
Sit = K_2 [Act Inst]
fell-over-he completion knocked-out to person
He fell over completely unconscious.

(c) si?i^{1} ska^{3} ti^{3} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} nǫ^{2} ?i^{3}
Sit = K_4 [Pred Dev]
is-not one only looking,dir. name pronoun
There is not just one name for them.

(d) ʔni^{3} la^{2} lka^{4} nde^{3} yhwi$^{1}_{\epsilon}$
Sit = K_{11} [Ax: S_{32} <Quot QT>
animal fierce is this said-she

ha^{4} ndšku^{1} nt$^{34}_{\epsilon}$ nde^{3} yhwi$^{1}_{\epsilon}$
Elb: S_{32} <Quot QT>]
negation eating people this said-she
"This is a fierce animal which people do not eat" she said.

(e) kuhwi$^{1}_{\epsilon}$ tu$^{32}_{\epsilon}$ ʔi$^{3}_{\epsilon}$ ku^{32}
Sit = K_{12} [Sit Res]
will-kill-I for-sure-I pronoun will-eat-you
I will certainly kill it for you to eat.

(f) ha^{4} šnyi^{32} ʔa^{3} ya$^{?32}$ taʔa^{23}
Sit = K_{13} [Init: C_{11}
negation will-take-you,dir. more hand brother

hwaki^{2} ʔyo$^{21}_{\epsilon}$ lo^{2} hwaki$^{1}_{\epsilon}$ ʔi$^{2}_{\epsilon}$
Seq: S_{15} <Bal BHi Bald>]
will-pull-you to-me and will-pull-I pronoun
Won't you grab hands together (with me), then you pull against me and I will pull against you.

(g) ka^{3} ti$^{?43}_{\epsilon}$ tša$^{?2}$ kuta^{43}
Sit = S_{11} [Set PHi Pur]
will-want-I to-the-effect-that will-give

wo$^{2}_{\epsilon}$ su$^{2}_{\epsilon}$ slyi^{2} ʔwo$^{3}_{\epsilon}$

you-pl./respectful base trousers to-you-pl./respectful
I want you to give me the seat out of your trousers.

(h) yhwi^{32} ʔi$^{2}_{\epsilon}$ lo^{2} nkye$^{?32}$ ʔi$^{1}_{\epsilon}$ ʔi$^{3}_{\epsilon}$
Sit = S_{15} [Bal BHi Bald: K_{11} <Ax
killed-she pronoun and cooking-she to pronoun

ngwa^{4} ʔi$^{3}_{\epsilon}$ kalu^{4}
Elb>]
was,dir. pronoun soup
She killed it and cooked it to make soup.

The situation tagmeme occurs only in K_{12}.

7.2.4. Result. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{22}, K_1, K_3, K_4, K_{12}, or a quotative sentence (S_{32}). It is the manifestations of this tagmeme that determine ten of the eleven co-occurrence subtypes of K_{12}, but C_4, C_{22}, and K_1 manifest the result tagmeme in subtype (ix) only.

Res:C_1 ndi^2 ʔa^4 kwiʔyǫ^{43} kuwiʔ^{32} ʔba^3 ʔį^2 'soon very will-carry-I baby to-we-exclusive pronoun' (I will bring our baby to you in a little while.); Res:C_2 koʔǫ^1 yaʔ^{32} kwiyu^{34} ʔyǫ^{21} ska^3 bra^{34} ti^3 'will-be-adjoining hand-of mule to-me one hour only' (It will be on my mule's hoof just a little time.); Res:C_3 kitše^3 lka^4 bra^3 koʔ^2 'town is then' (...so it is a town); Res:C_4 ku^2 lomsa^{34} neʔ^3 'will-eat breakfast-of person' (He will eat his breakfast.); Res:C_{11} šska^1 koʔ^{12} tya^1 tnyi^{34} ʔį^1 neʔ^3 'another month will-give-you,dir. money to person' (Next month you will pay them.); Res:C_{12} tyįʔį^1 ʔwǫ^3 nde^3 'will-live-it,dir. to-you-pl. here' (It can stay here for you.); Res:C_{22} ku^{32} tuʔ^{32} 'will-eat-he for-sure-he' (He will certainly eat [it].);

(a) nyǫʔǫ^{43} sa^2 la^3 nyǫʔǫ^{43} tįʔį^2 la^3
Res = K_1 [Sta Sta]
looking,dir. light more looking,dir. heavy more
We will see which is the lighter and which is the heavier.

(b) liʔya^1 ngiya^{32} bra^3 koʔ^2
Res = K_3 [Ant Cons]
carrying-he going-he then
Carrying (it) he left.

(c) ndtškoʔ^{32} ndukwa^{43} kye^{32} ngaʔa^1
Res = K_4 [Pred Dev]
gazed-he is-on flower red
He gazed at the place where the red flowers were.

(d) šu?wi^{1} ti?a^{3} ku?u^{32}
Res = K_{12} [Sit Res]
will-put-you,dir. water will-drink-I
You put some water in (it) so that I can drink it.

(e) kaha^{1} nte^{34} si^{1} ku^{2} ne?^{3} nde^{3}
Res = S_{32} [Quot:S_{31} <Ads:S_{14} (Inj CnHi Cond)>
will-die people if will-eat person here

yhwi^{1}
QT]
said-she
"People die if they eat this" she said.

The result tagmeme occurs only in K_{12}.

7.2.5. Initiation. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_4, C_{11}, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_{12}, a purpose sentence (S_{11}), or a comment sentence (S_{21}).

Init:C_1 wa^{2} ngusi^{32} te?^{34} ni^{2} 'completion wrung-she cloth now' (She has wrung out the clothes now.); Init:C_2 ndiya^{21} sno^{1} 'is-belonging three' (Three of them were there.); Init:C_4 mdyi^{1} yku^{32} ti^{3} kyha^{3} ?i^{2} 'finished,dir. ate only tortilla pronoun' (He only just finished eating his tortillas.); Init:C_{11} la^{3} kwa^{2} la^{3} tyu^{32} 'towards there more will-stand-you,dir.' (You stand over there a little more.);

(a) ngusno^{43} ?ya^{1} nu^{3} šni?^{3} biya?^{2} l?we^{3}
Init = K_2 [Act
ran carrying the-particular dog measure half

nsu?wi^{1} mšk alyu^{4}
Inst]
there-is mezcal
The dog ran off carrying a measure and a half of mezcal.

(b) ndo?o^{1} yu^{3} ngiya^{32}
Init = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging man going-he
Emerging, the man went.

(c) ha^{4} ka^{43} ?a^{3} hyǫ^{43} lo?o^{1} yka^{3} kya^{43}
Init = K_4 [Pred Dev]
negation will-be more will-return-I with wood tomorrow
I will not be able to return with wood tomorrow.

(d) ndiya^{21} snǫ^{1} ngusu?wa^{32} ?i^{1} salbahe^{43} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2}
Init = K_{12} [Sit Res]
is-belonging three put-it to ruffian then
There were three there and they used them on the ruffians.

(e) nsu?wa^{1} ?i^{3} tš̌kwǫ^{43} tš̌a?^{2}
Init = S_{11} [Set PHi
putting-he pronoun metal in-order-that

?a^{4} kǫ^{1} ?a^{2}
Pur]
negation will-come more
He put them in irons so that they would not come any more.

(f) bra^{3} kǫ?^{2} ngutyu^{32} ti^{1} wta^{34} kǫ?^{2}
Init = S_{21} [Top ER
then fell-down rope cow that-is-what

mdyu^{32} ?i^{2}
Comt]
fell-on pronoun
Next the cow rope fell down, that is just what fell on it (the snake).

The initiation tagmeme occurs only in K_{13}.

7.2.6. Sequel. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_{11}, K_2, K_3, K_4, or a balance sentence (S_{15}). The manifestations of this tagmeme determine five of the six co-occurrence subtypes of K_{13}.

Seq:C_1 ngusi?yu^{32} bra^3 kǫ?^{2} 'cut-he then' (He cut [them] then.); Seq:C_2 tukwa^1 ne?^{3} ti^1 yni^2 'will-be-on person rope neck-its' (They will put a rope round its neck.); Seq:C_{11} ngiyǫ^{32} bra^3 kǫ?^{2} 'coming-he,dir. then' (He was coming there then.);

(a) ngusula^{32} skwa^1 ?i^1 ǫ^3 kityi^1 ǫ^3
Seq = K_2 [Act Inst]
opened will-lay-she to them will-dry,dir. them
She spread them (the clothes) out to dry.

(b) ndo?o^1 yu^3 ya^{32} yu^3 lo?o^1 bra^3 kǫ?^{2}
Seq = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging man went man with-him then
Emerging, the man went with him then.

(c) nǫ^2 yu^3 si?yu^{32} yku^{32} bra^3 kǫ?^{2}
Seq = K_4 [Dev Pred]
thing man cut ate then
They ate the things the men cut.

(d) ka?yu^1 ya?^{1} ytsu^{32} lo^2 ska^3 ti^3 tiru^4 nsu?wi^1
Seq = S_{15} [Bal BHi Bald]
five times erupted and one only bullet there-is

ni?^{2} pistola^4 ?i^2 šа^2 ngiha^{32}

inside pistol pronoun light finding-he
The pistol went off five times and when he had found it there had only been one bullet inside it!

The sequel tagmeme occurs only in K_{13}.

8. Sentence Types

There are both major and minor sentences. The major sentences are independent or symbiotic but the unique minor sentence occurs without the sentence periphery and may manifest a phrase-level tagmeme. There are five classes of sentences of which four are major classes: simple sentence class (S_0), hinge sentence class (S_{10}), symbiotic sentence class (S_{20}), quotation sentence class (S_{30}), minor sentence class (s_{00}).

8.1. There are two sentence types in the simple sentence class S_0.

8.1.1. S_1, the primary sentence, which consists of one obligatory nuclear tagmeme and the periphery, may be graphically represented thus:

$S_1 = \pm J$ (+ Epn)

The optional junction tagmeme, manifested by the conjunction lo^2 'and' from subclass $W_{14 \cdot 2}$ or by an expression of agreement or a contraction of such expression, or by certain temporal nouns of subclass $W_{3 \cdot 1}$ (see 9.1.1), is followed by the obligatory expression tagmeme manifested by a clause of any type from classes C_0, C_{10}, or C_{20}, or any colon type (see 9.2.1).

There are two subtypes of S_1. Subtype (i): The expression tagmeme is manifested by a clause. Subtype (ii): The expression tagmeme is manifested by a colon. Examples of S_1 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

(a) ka^{4} no$_{\text{ę}}^{2}$ ngila^{43} y?o$_{\text{ę}}^{1}$ yu^{3} bra^{3} ko$_{\text{ę}}$?^{2}
S_1 = J Epn: C_1
will-be thing arriving mother-of man then
So the man's mother arrived then.

(b) tsu?we^{32} ?i$_{\text{ę}}^{2}$ ni^{2} ngudya^{32} wo$_{\text{ę}}^{2}$ ska^{3} siyętu^{4} ?yo$_{\text{ę}}^{21}$
S_1 = J Epn: C_{11}
good pronoun now gave, dir. you-pl. one hundred to-me
All right now, you have paid me the one hundred.

(c) we^{3} ni^{2} šk wo$_{\text{ę}}^{43}$ tu$_{\text{ę}}$?^{43}
S_1 = J Epn: C_{22}
good now will-lie-I, dir. for-certain-I
All right, I will certainly lie down.

subtype (ii)

(a) we^{3} ni^{2} tsa^{43} ni^{2} no$_{\text{ę}}^{1}$ ta?a^{23} sno$_{\text{ę}}^{1}$
S_1 = J Epn: K_3 [Ant: C_1 Cons: C_1]
good now will-go-you now look-for-you relative three
Now go and look for the three sisters.

(b) lo^{2} ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} ko$_{\text{ę}}$?^{2}
S_1 = J Epn: K_{11} [Ax: C_2
and is-belonging soup that-particular

ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} nkye?^{23} ko$_{\text{ę}}$?^{2} ?i$_{\text{ę}}^{1}$ nte$_{\text{ę}}^{34}$
Elb: C_2]
is-belonging soup cooking that-particular to people
And there is that particular kind of soup, there is the peoples' soup of that particular kind already cooked.

8.1.2. S_2, the descriptive sentence, consists of two members and the periphery. There are two subtypes, $S_{2\cdot1}$ and $S_{2\cdot2}$, which may be graphically represented thus:

$S_{2\cdot1} = \pm J \quad (+ Sub_1 \quad + Exn)$

$S_{2\cdot2} = \pm J \quad (+ Sub_2 \quad \pm Exn)$

In $S_{2 \cdot 1}$, the optional periphery is followed by the obligatory substance$_1$ allotagma manifested by P_1 (see 9.2.2), followed by the obligatory explanation tagmeme manifested by P_4, C_1, K_1, or K_{12} (see 9.2.3). In $S_{2 \cdot 2}$, the optional periphery is followed by the obligatory substance$_2$ allotagma manifested by P_6 (see 9.2.2), followed by the optional explanation tagmeme (see 9.2.3). Examples of S_2 follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	ʔni^3	nu^3	no^2	sne^{12}	tše^2	nyoʔo^{43}		koʔ^2
$S_{2 \cdot 1}$ =	Sub$_1$: $P_{1 \cdot 3}$					Exn: K_1 [Sta: C_{11}		
	animal	which	name	toad	bad	looking, dir.		that-particular

šaʔ^3	nyoʔo^{43}	koʔ^2	tše^2	nyoʔo^{43}	
Sta: C_{11}			Sta: C_{11}]		
different	looking, dir.	that-particular	bad	looking, dir.	

koʔ^2

that-particular

The animal called a toad looks different and unsightly.

subtype (ii)

	lo^2	ska^3	tša^{32}	mštye^3	tša^{32}	nu^3	ha^4	hlyo^{32} ti^{32}
$S_{2 \cdot 2}$ =	J	Sub$_2$: P_6						
	and	one	word	crazy	word	which	negation	know

o^2

we-inclusive

And crazy speech consists of words that we do not understand.

8.2. There are five sentence types in the hinge sentence class S_{10}.[26] All are minimally bipartite and joined by a hinge

[26] A further type should be posited where the hinge conjunction is tšuʔ^2 'because, for'. Due to insufficient data this type has not been described in detail, although it appears to be distinct from any other hinge sentence type.

conjunction which determines the relationship of the first member in the sentence to the second member. On occasion in narrative a hinge sentence is recorded as direct speech. A pause often occurs before the hinge in such a sentence so that when quoted the first member of the hinge sentence occurs as the address sentence (S_{31}) manifesting the quotation tagmeme in one quotative sentence (S_{32}), while the hinge together with the second member occur as the address sentence manifesting the quotation tagmeme of a second S_{32}. This may be illustrated by the cause sentence (S_{13}) in which S_{13} = + Sug + CHi + Cau, but in recorded speech these members may be split apart to form two address sentences which manifest the quotation tagmemes of two consecutive quotative sentences as in the following example.

	ha^{4}	šiʔya^{32}		tše^{32}	yhwi$^{32}_{\wr}$	šniʔ$^{3}_{\wr}$	ndaha^{3}
S_{32}, S_{32} =	S_{13} [Quot/Sug: S_{31} <Ads: C_{11}			VAd>	QT: C_{21}]		
	negation	will-shout-you, dir.		Friend	said	dog	lazy

	ʔi$^{1}_{\wr}$	ʔo^{34}	si?ya^{1}	kuhwi^{43}	ne?^{2}	ʔi$^{3}_{\wr}$	yhwi$^{1}_{\wr}$
			[Quot/(CHi	Cau): S_{31} <Ads>			QT: C_{21}]
	to	coyote	because	will-kill	they	pronoun	said-he

bra^{3}	kǫʔ$^{2}_{\wr}$

then

"Don't you shout Friend" said Lazy Dog to Coyote, "because they will kill you" he said then.

8.2.1. S_{11}, the purpose sentence, consists of two members and the periphery. The second member, together with the hinge, may be repeated an indefinite number of times; up to four repetitions have been encountered in the data analysed. The aspect of the second member is almost always intentive, or is very rarely continuative, when that of the first member is not intentive. The members of this sentence type are not reversible. S_{11} may be graphically represented thus:

$S_{11} = \pm J \quad (+ \text{Set} \quad [+ \text{PHi} \quad + \text{Pur}]^{n})$

The optional periphery is followed by the obligatory setting tagmeme manifested by types from classes C_0, K_0 and K_{10}, or by C_{11}, S_{14}, S_{15}, S_{22}, or S_{23} (see 9.3.1), followed by the obligatory purpose hinge tagmeme manifested by the conjunction tšaʔ^2 'in-order-that/to-the-effect-that' (see 9.3.2), followed by the obligatory purposive tagmeme manifested by types from classes C_0, C_{10}, K_0 and K_{10}, or by S_{14} (see 9.3.3).

There are nine subtypes of S_{11} on the basis of co-occurrence of the various manifestations of the setting tagmeme with the various manifestations of the purposive tagmeme. These co-occurrence subtypes are classified according to given manifestations of the purposive tagmeme in subtypes (i) - (viii). Other manifestations of the purposive tagmeme encountered to date occur only when C_1 manifests the setting tagmeme; these comprise subclass (ix). Subtype (i): The setting tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_2, C_{11}, K_1, K_2, K_3, K_{11}, S_{14}, or S_{23} when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The setting tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_3, C_{11}, K_{11}, or K_{13} when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iii): The setting tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or K_1 when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by C_3. Subtype (iv): The setting tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, or K_{12} when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by C_{12}. Subtype (v): The setting tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or C_4 when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by C_2. Subtype (vi): The setting tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or K_1 when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by K_2. Subtype (vii): The setting tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or S_{23} when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by K_3. Subtype (viii): The setting tagmeme is manifested by S_{15} or S_{22} when the purposive tagmeme is manifested by K_4. Subtype (ix): When the setting tagmeme is manifested by C_1, the purposive tagmeme may be further manifested by K_{11} or S_{14}. A maximum example of S_{11} follows.

nsi?ya^{1} ne?^{3} msu^{34} ?i$^{1}_{\varsigma}$ ne?^{3} wta^{34} tš̌a?^{2}
S_{11} = Set: C_1 PHi
calling person servant to person cattle in-order-that

š̌o?^{1} su?wa^{43} ne?^{2} ?i$^{3}_{\varsigma}$ ni?^{2} lyo?o^{32}
Pur^{1}: C_1
will-gather, dir. will-put person pronoun inside in-corral

rantš̌u^{4} ?i$^{1}_{\varsigma}$?i$^{3}_{\varsigma}$ tš̌a?^{2} kulo^{43} ne?^{2} styi?^{2}
PHi Pur^{2}: C_1
ranch to pronoun in-order-that will-draw-out person milk

?i$^{3}_{\varsigma}$ tš̌a?^{2} tyo?o^{1} kš̌u^{34} ?i$^{1}_{\varsigma}$ ne?^{3}
PHi Pur^{3}: C_{11}
pronoun in-order-that will-emerge, dir. cheese to person

tš̌a?^{2} tsa^{43} hwi?^{43} ne?^{2} lo^{3} kiya?^{3}
PHi Pur^{4}: C_1
in-order-that will-go sell person in market

The ranchers' servants call their cattle so that they can put them all together in the ranch corral to milk them, so that they can make cheese to take to market to sell.

Other examples of S_{11} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

kuno$^{1}_{\varsigma}$ se$^{?}$e$^{3}_{\varsigma}$ tsa^{43} se$^{?}$e$^{2}_{\varsigma}$ ku?tsi^{2} ti^{3}
S_{11} = Set: K_3 [Ant: C_1 Cons: C_1]
will-look-for-you place will-go-you place will-hide only

tš̌a?^{2} ha^{4} nyo$^{?}$o$^{43}_{\varsigma}$ ne?^{2} ?i$^{3}_{\varsigma}$
PHi Pur: C_1
in-order-that negation looking, dir. person pronoun

You will look for a place and then hide there so that they will not see you.

subtype (ii)

	hyo̱^{32}	tš̆a?^{2}	š̆u̱^{32}	wo̱^{2}
S_{11} =	Set: C_1	PHi	Pur: C_{11}	
	will-return-I	in-order-that	will-fight, dir.	you-pl.

I will return to fight with you.

subtype (iii)

	ngwo̱^{2}	?o̱^{3}	hlyo^{32}	ti?^{32}	ni^{2}	tš̆a?^{2}		no̱^{2}	ngwo̱^{2} ?o̱^{3}
S_{11} =	Set: C_1					PHi		Pur: C_3	
	like	that	know-you	now	to-the-effect-that			name	like that

Now you know what I am called.

subtype (iv)

	ha^{4}	ndiya^{21}	kyha^{3}	kuta^{32}	ska^{3}	ku^{2}
S_{11} =	Set: K_{12} [Sit: C_2			Res: K_{12} <Sit: C_1		Res: C_1>]
	negation	is-belonging	tortilla	will-give-you	one	will-eat

o̱^{2}	tš̆a?^{2}	tyi?i̱^{43}	o̱^{3}	
	PHi	Pur: C_{12}		
we-inclusive	in-order-that	will-live, dir.	we-inclusive	

Don't you have a tortilla to give us to eat so that we won't starve?

subtype (v)

	sko̱^{43}	ti^{2}	nskwo̱^{43}	ti̱?i̱^{32}	tš̆a?^{2}
S_{11} =	Set: C_1				PHi
	one-I	only	lying-I	will-live	to-the-effect-that

ha^{4}	tukwi̱^{2}	ndiya^{21}	?yo̱^{21}
Pur: C_2			
nobody		is-belonging	to-me

I am lying here all alone as there is no one to be here with me.

subtype (vi)

	ku?ni^{32}	tš̆a?^{2}	kaha^{43}	no̱^{2}
S_{11} =	Set: C_1	PHi	Pur: K_2 [Act: C_1	
	will-make-he	in-order-that	will-obtain-he	thing

ko?o^{43} kuwi?^{32} ?i^{1} ne?^{3}
Inst: C_1]
will-drink baby to person
He will do it so that he can get the stuff for his baby to drink.

subtype (vii)

la^{3} ka^{4} ndukwa^{1} ni^{2} tšа?^{2}
S_{11} = Set: S_{23} [Itg IS: C_2] PHi
where will-be is-on now in-order-that

kyo^{32} ku^{32} tlya^{32}
Pur: K_3 [Ant: C_{11} Cons: C_4]
will-come-he, dir. will-eat dinner-his
Where will you sit so that he will come here and eat his dinner?

subtype (viii)

ta^{3} tšanyi^{2} tšа?^{2}
S_{11} = Set: S_{22} [AR Alt: C_5] PHi
or-interrogative true to-the-effect-that

taka^{4} ?i^{2} kulo^{32} ti?a^{3}
Pur: K_4 [Dev: K_4 <Pred: C_{13} Dev: C_1>
will-be, dir. pronoun will-draw-out-you water

ka^{4} ?i^{2}
Pred: C_{13}]
will-be to-you
Or isn't it true that you will be able to find water here?

subtype (ix)

no?^{2} ku?ni^{1} tšа?^{2} kaha^{32} ka?^{12}
S_{11} = Set: C_1 PHi Pur: S_{14} [Inj: C_1
I will-make-I in-order-that will-obtain-he coffin

si^{1} kwa^{3}
CnHi Cond: C_5]
if there
I will see that he has a coffin if that's all.

8.2.2. S_{12}, the reason sentence, consists of two members and the periphery. The second member, together with the hinge, may be repeated once, and in rare instances the members may be reversed. The aspect of the second member is always continuative or completive. Although all examples of K_2 may transform to S_{12} this transform is one way only in that all examples of S_{12} do not transform to K_2. S_{12} may be graphically represented thus:

$$S_{12} = \pm J \quad (+ \text{Rea} \quad [+ \text{RHi} \quad + \text{Out}]^2)$$

The optional periphery is followed by the obligatory reason tagmeme manifested by types from classes C_0 or C_{10}, or by C_{31}, K_1, K_4, or S_{14} (see 9.3.4), followed by the obligatory reason hinge tagmeme manifested by the stative clause ko^{2} tš̌a?^{2} 'that's-why' (see 9.3.5), followed by the obligatory outcome tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, K_2, K_{11}, or S_{11} (see 9.3.6).

There are four subtypes of S_{12}. Co-occurrence classes in subtypes (i) - (iii) are classified according to given manifestations of the outcome tagmeme. Other manifestations of the outcome tagmeme occur only when the reason tagmeme is manifested by C_1 and these comprise subtype (iv). Subtype (i): The reason tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{12}, C_{31}, K_4, or S_{14} when the outcome tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The reason tagmeme may be manifested by C_2 or C_{11} when the outcome tagmeme is manifested by C_5. Subtype (iii): The reason tagmeme is manifested by K_1 when the outcome tagmeme is manifested by K_{11}. Subtype (iv): When the reason tagmeme is manifested by C_1, the outcome tagmeme may be further manifested by C_2, C_3, K_2, or S_{11}. Examples of S_{12} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	šа^{2}	nu^{3}	šlyu^{1}		ne?^{3}	mo̱kino̱^{4}	su̱^{2}	lambre^{4}
S_{12} =	Rea: C_{31}							
	light	which	will-turn, dir.		person	machine	base	wire

kǫ^{2} tšaʔ^{2} nę^{32} lambre^{4} kǫʔ^{2} tšaʔ^{2} ngiya^{43} kwę^{2} lambre^{4}
RHi Out^{1}:C_1 RHi Out^{2}:C_1
that's-why sounds wire that's-why going loudly wire

When they turn the machine at the foot of the (telegraph) wire the wire hums, it is caused to hum loudly.

subtype (ii)

nsuʔwi^{32} ndla^{4} lo^{3} kutša^{2} kǫʔ^{2} tšaʔ^{2} ha^{4} tikyeʔ^{2} kwǫ^{3}
S_{12} = Rea:C_2 RHi Out:C_5
there-is cloud on sun that's-why negation hot heavens

There is a cloud hiding the sun, so that's why it is not hot.

subtype (iii)

nguhwi^{1} yʔǫ^{12} nguhwi^{1} sti^{32} kǫʔ^{2} tšaʔ^{2}
S_{12} = Rea:K_1 [Sta:C_1 Sta:C_1] RHi
died mother-my died father-my that's-why

tʔnǫ^{2} ʔa^{1} ndiʔi^{43} skǫ^{43} ti^{2} nskwǫ^{43} tiʔi^{32}
Out:K_{11} [Ax:C_2 Elb:C_1]
poor very is-living-I one-I only lying-I will-be-living

My mother and father are dead, that's why I am so poorly off and lie here all alone.

subtype (iv)

kǫʔ^{2} tšaʔ^{2} yne^{32} ytsu^{1} tiʔyu^{23}
S_{12} = RHi Out:K_2 [Act:C_1 Inst:C_1]
that's-why sounded-it erupted thunder

nguʔni^{1} bitriyu^{4} ndukwa^{43} tu^{3} kuʔ^{32} yka^{3} lambre^{4}
Rea:C_1
made glass is-on end wood wire

The glass on the end of the aerial pole attracted the thunder, that's why it thundered so loudly.

8.2.3. S_{13}, the cause sentence, consists of two members and the periphery, and these two members are reversible. S_{13} might be considered as suspiciously like S_{12} but an example of K_2 may not transform to S_{13} although it will always transform to S_{12}. Also the tagmeme manifestations differ.

S_{13} may be graphically represented thus:

$$S_{13} = \pm J \quad (\overset{\downarrow}{+} \text{Sug} \quad [+ \text{CHi} \quad \overset{\downarrow}{+} \text{Cau}])$$

The optional periphery is followed by the obligatory suggestion tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_{11}, C_{12}, K_4, S_{14}, or S_{31} (see 9.3.7), followed by the obligatory cause hinge tagmeme manifested by the conjunction si?ya^1 'because, since' (see 9.3.8), followed by the obligatory cause tagmeme manifested by C_1 or C_{13} (see 9.3.9). As this sentence type occurs rarely, few examples have been encountered and therefore the fact of the cause tagmeme being manifested by C_1 and once only by C_{13} is as yet insufficient evidence for determining subtypes. Examples of S_{13} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) lo^2 si?ya^1 s?ni^2 ykwi̱?^{43} lo?o^1
S_{13} = J CHi Cau: C_1
and because long-ago spoke-I with-you

ha^4 hlya^{32} ti?^{32} tšа?^{2} ykwi̱?^{43} lo?o^1
Sug: C_1
negation forget-you word spoke-I with-you
And don't forget what I told you because I spoke to you a long time ago.

(b) nde^3 ?wo̱^{3} tyi̱?i̱^{43} ba^3 šiʔi^1
S_{13} = Sug: C_{12}
here to-you-pl. will-live, dir. we-exclusive little-while

si?ya^1 ngiya^{43} y?o̱^{1} ba^3 lo^3 kitše̱^{1}
CHi Cau: C_1
because going mother we-exclusive in town
We will stay here at your place for a little while because our mother has gone to town.

(c) si^1 tyukwa^{32} sndadu^4 ?i̱^{2}
S_{13} = Sug: S_{14} [CnHi Cond: C_{12}
if will-be-on, dir. soldier pronoun

ha^{4}	šnǫ^{32}		tšaʔ^{2}			
Inj:S_{11} <Set:C_{11}			PHi			
negation will-run-he,dir.			in-order-that			
kų^{43}	neʔ^{2}	ʔį^{2}	siʔya^{1}	ndugų^{1}	neʔ^{3}	ʔį^{1}
Pur:C_{1}>]			CHi	Cau:C_{1}		
will-shoot person	pronoun		because	shooting	person	to
nte^{34}	nu^{3}	šnǫ^{1}				
people which	will-run,dir.					

If the soldiers catch him he must not try to run away or they will shoot him because that is what they do to people who run away.

8.2.4. S_{14}, the condition sentence, consists of two members together with the common junction peripheral tagmeme and another optional peripheral tagmeme which occurs only in this sentence type. The two members are reversible. The aspect combination of completive-completive may occur but usually the manifestation of the condition tagmeme has the intentive aspect. S_{14} may be graphically represented thus:

$$S_{14} = \pm J \quad \pm F \quad (+ \overbrace{\text{Inj} \quad [+ \text{CnHi} \quad + \text{Cond}]}^{\downarrow\downarrow})$$

The optional junction tagmeme is followed by the optional focus tagmeme manifested by P_1, followed by the obligatory injunction tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, or S_{11} (see 9.3.10), followed by the obligatory condition hinge tagmeme manifested by the borrowed conjunction si^{1} 'if' (see 9.3.11), followed by the obligatory condition tagmeme manifested by class C_{10} or by C_1, C_2, C_5, K_2, S_{32}, P_4, or $P_{11\cdot 2}$ (see 9.3.12).

There are seven co-occurrence subtypes of S_{14}. Subtypes (i) - (vi) are classified according to certain manifestations of the condition tagmeme. Other manifestations of this tagmeme occur only when the injunction tagmeme is manifested by C_1 and comprise subtype (vii). Subtype (i):

The injunction tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_5, C_{11}, K_4, or K_{12} when the condition tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The injunction tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or C_{11} when the condition tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iii): The injunction tagmeme may be manifested by C_1 or C_3 when the condition tagmeme is manifested by C_{13}. Subtype (iv): The injunction tagmeme is manifested by C_1 or K_4 when the condition tagmeme is manifested by C_5. Subtype (v): The injunction tagmeme is manifested by S_{11} when the condition tagmeme is manifested by C_{12}. Subtype (vi): The injunction tagmeme is manifested by K_{11} when the condition tagmeme is manifested by K_2. Subtype (vii): When the injunction tagmeme is manifested by C_1, the condition tagmeme may be further manifested by C_2, S_{32}, P_4, or $P_{11\cdot 2}$. Examples of S_{14} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	ha^4	ka^4	hlyo^{32}	ti?^{32}	nyo̱?o̱^{43}	ku?ni^{32}	si^1
S_{14} =	Inj: K_4 [Pred: C_1				Dev: C_1]		CnHi
	negation	will-be	know-you		kind-of	will-make-you	if

ha^4	tukwi̱^{2}	kitsa?^{32}	?i̱^{2}
Cond: C_1			
nobody	will-tell	pronoun	

You cannot know what to do if nobody tells you.

subtype (ii)

	lo^2	ska^3	tš̱a?^{32}	si^1	lye^{32}	nš̱u̱^{43}	ta?a^{23}	ne?^{3}
S_{14} =	J	F		CnHi	Cond: C_{11}			
	and	one	word	if	much	fight	relative-of	person

bra^{34}	ki?ya^1		kwinta^{34}	
Inj: C_{11}				
immediately	will-descend-you, dir.		account	

And a warning, if people are really quarrelling with each other immediately be on your guard.

subtype (iii)

	tsa^{32}	si^{1}	ndška^{43}	ʔi$^{2}_{\downarrow}$	reyi^{34}	ʔi$^{2}_{\downarrow}$
S_{14} =	Inj:C_1	CnHi	Cond:C_{13}			
	will-go-you	if	is-he,dir.	pronoun	king	pronoun

If the king wants you, you will go.

subtype (iv)

	šiʔya^{43}	ʔi$^{2}_{\downarrow}$	kyo$^{32}_{\downarrow}$	nde^{3}	si^{1}	kwa^{3}
S_{14} =	Inj:K_4 [Pred:C_{11}		Dev:C_{11}]		CnHi	Cond:C_5
	will-shout,dir.	pronoun	will-come,dir.	here	if	there

He will shout at you to come here if that's all.

subtype (v)

	si^{1}	tyukwa^{43}	sndadu^{4}	ʔi$^{2}_{\downarrow}$	ha^{4}
S_{14} =	CnHi	Cond:C_{12}			Inj:S_{11} [Set:C_{11}
	if	will-be-on,dir.	soldier	pronoun	negation

	šno$^{32}_{\downarrow}$	tša?^{2}	ku$^{43}_{\downarrow}$	ne?^{2}	ʔi$^{2}_{\downarrow}$
		PHi	Pur:C_1]		
	will-run-he,dir.	in-order-that	will-shoot	they	pronoun

If the soldiers catch him he must not run away or they will shoot him.

subtype (vi)

	ha^{4}	kusuʔwa^{32}	kiʔya^{2}	ʔyo$^{21}_{\downarrow}$	ha^{4}	tyoʔo^{1}
S_{14} =	Inj:K_{11} [Ax:C_1				Elb:C_{11}]	
	negation	will-put	sin	to-me	negation	will-emerge,dir.

	kiʔya^{2}	ʔyo$^{21}_{\downarrow}$	si^{1}	kaha^{32}		ku^{32}	ʔi$^{1}_{\downarrow}$ ʔi^{3}
			CnHi	Cond:K_2 [Act:C_1		Inst:C_1]	
	sin	to-me	if	will-die-you		will-eat-you	to pronoun

It will not be my fault and the sin will not be put to my account if you die when you eat it.

subtype (vii)

	ha^{4}	ka^{4}	kuʔni^{32}	šo$^{\downarrow}$ʔo$^{2}_{\downarrow}$	ba^{2}	ndla^{2}
S_{14} =	Inj:C_1					
	negation	will-be	will-make	will-change	we-exclusive	rapidly

si^{1} ha^{4} lo?o^{1} mo̱kino̱^{4} ?ba^{3}
CnHi Cond:$P_{11\cdot 2}$
if negation with machine to-we-exclusive
We cannot learn very quickly if we do not have our machine (tape recorder).

8.2.5. S_{15}, the balance sentence, consists of two members and the periphery. The second member may be repeated an indefinite number of times; up to three repetitions have been encountered in the data analysed. The aspects of the two members agree and, as indicated in subtype (x), often both members are manifested by the same clause or sentence type in a given example. S_{15} may be graphically represented thus:

$$S_{15} = \pm J \quad (+ \text{Bal} \quad [+ \text{BHi} \quad + \text{Bald}]^{n})$$

The optional periphery is followed by the obligatory balance tagmeme manifested by types from classes C_0, K_{10}, S_{20}, or by C_{11}, K_4, S_{14}, or S_{32} (see 9.3.13), followed by the obligatory balance hinge tagmeme manifested by the relators lo^{2} 'and' or lo?o^{1} 'with' (see 9.3.14), followed by the obligatory balanced tagmeme manifested by types from classes C_0 or K_0, or by C_{11}, K_{11}, S_2, S_{11}, S_{14}, or S_{21} (see 9.3.15).

There are ten co-occurrence subtypes. Subtypes (i) - (viii) are classified according to certain manifestations of the balanced tagmeme, subtype (ix) according to a certain manifestation of the balance tagmeme, and in subtype (x) the type manifested in the balance tagmeme is repeated in the balanced tagmeme. S_{15} occurs most commonly in the subtype (x) form. Subtype (i): The balance tagmeme may be manifested by C_2, C_4, C_{11}, K_{11}, K_{12}, or S_{32} when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The balance tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_{11}, or K_4 when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by C_2. Subtype (iii): The balance tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, S_{21}, or S_{23} when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iv):

The balance tagmeme may be manifested by C_1, C_3, or C_{11} when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by K_{11}. Subtype (v): The balance tagmeme is manifested by S_{21} when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by C_5. Subtype (vi): The balance tagmeme is manifested by C_3 when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by S_2. Subtype (vii): The balance tagmeme is manifested by S_{22} or S_{23} when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by S_{11}. Subtype (viii): The balance tagmeme is manifested by C_1 when the balanced tagmeme is manifested by K_4. Subtype (ix): When the balance tagmeme is manifested by C_2, the balanced tagmeme may be further manifested by K_2, K_3, or S_{21}. Subtype (x): Both balance and balanced tagmemes may be manifested in a given sentence by C_1, C_2, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, or S_{14}. Examples of S_{15} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	nǫ?^{2}	tyų^{43}		la^{2}	kwa^{3}	lo^{2}
S_{15} =	Bal: C_{11}					BHi
	I	will-stand-I, dir.		towards	there	and

kuta^{32}	ska^{3}	hu?wa^{34}	?yǫ^{21}	
Bald: C_1				
will-give-you	one	banana	to-me	

subtype (ii) and (x)

	wa^{2}	ngudyi^{1}	ska^{3}	libru^{34}	?yǫ^{21}	ni^{2}	lo^{2}
S_{15} =	Bal: C_{11}						BHi
	completion	finished, dir.	one	book	to-me	now	and

nu?wį^{32}	sa^{3}	yu?we^{2}	ti^{3}	libru^{34}	ndiya^{21}	lo^{2}
Bald^{1}: C_2						BHi
you-familiar	one	piece	only	book	is-there	and

siya?[1] ngusnyi[32] ti[3] ǫ̨[2] libru[34] lo?o[1]
Bald[2]: C_{11}
one-time took only we-inclusive book with
I have finished my book now and you are only half-way through, even though we both took our books at the same time.

subtype (ii)

wa[2] tihyu?[1] ngiya[32] lo[2] ti[2] ngwǫ̨?ǫ̨[3]
S_{15} = Bal: C_1 BHi Bald: C_2
completion far going-he and still was-adjoining

tiru[4] ?i̱[2]

bullet pronoun
He had gone quite a distance and still the bullet hit him.

subtype (iii)

kǫ̨?[2] ndukwa[43] yu[2] kǫ̨?[2]
S_{15} = Bal: S_{21} [ER Comt: K_{11} <Ax: C_2
that's-the-one is-on man that-particular

nu̱?u̱[1] ti[2] yu[3] bra[3] kǫ̨?[2] lo[2] kwi?[1] tyu̱[3] yu[3]
Elb: S_{32}>] BHi Bald: C_{11}
with-me ten man then and same will-stand, dir. man

tšu̱?[23] nu[3] ha[4] kwilyo?o[2] ?a[3] bra[3] kǫ̨?[2]

behind which negation spouse more then
That's the place where those men are sitting, ten men will sit with me and in the same way the unmarried men will stand behind.

subtype (iv)

kuhwi[32] ?ni[3] nde[3] lo[2] kye?[32] ?i̱[1] ?i̱[3]
S_{15} = Bal: C_{11} BHi Bald: K_{11} [Ax: C_1
will-kill animal here and will-cook to pronoun

ku?ni[43] kalu[4] ?i̱[1] ?i̱[3]
Elb: C_1]
will-make-you soup to pronoun
Kill this animal and cook it to make soup.

subtype (v)

	lo^{2}	nu^{3}		kuliya?^{32}	kǫ?^{2}
S_{15} =	Bal:S_{21} [J	Top:P_1			ER
	and	the-particular		rich	that's-the-one

	ndu^{1}	ska^{3}	wta^{34}	lo^{2}	kuliya?^{32}	yu^{3}
	Comt:C_1]			BHi	Bald:C_5	
	standing	one	cow	and	rich	man

Where the cow is standing -- that's the rich man, and he is a rich man.

subtype (vi)

	?ni^{3}	tsu?we^{32}	lka^{4}	kǫ?^{2}		lo^{2}	?ni^{3}	nu^{3}	nǫ^{2}
S_{15} =	Bal:C_3					BHi	Bald:$S_{2.1}$	[Sub_1:P_1	
	animal	good	is	that-particular		and	animal	which	name

	sneǫ^{12}	tšeǫ^{2}	nyǫ?ǫ^{43}	kǫ?^{2}	šа?^{3}	nyǫ?ǫ^{43}
		Exn:K_1 <Sta:C_1			Sta:C_1	
	toad	bad	looking,dir.	that-particular	different	looking,dir.

	kǫ?^{2}	tšeǫ^{2}	nyǫ?ǫ^{43}	kǫ?^{2}
		Sta:C_1>]		
	that-particular	bad	looking,dir.	that-particular

That one is a good animal, but the animal called a toad looks different and unsightly.

subtype (vii)

	ni^{3}	tša?^{32}	la^{2}	?a^{1}	ngiyǫ^{32}	lo^{2}
S_{15} =	Bal:S_{23} [Itg	IS:C_{11}]				BHi
	what thing	fierce	very	coming-you.dir.		and

	ha^{4}	lka^{4}	tša?^{32}	tša?^{2}	kyǫ^{32}	tsǫ^{23}	ni^{2}
	Bald:S_{11} [Set:C_3		PHi		Pur:C_{11}]		
	negation is	thing	in-order-that		will-come-you,dir.	day	now

Why have you come when you are so cross, as there is no reason for you to come today?

subtype (viii)

	ngudihi̱^{32}	ne?^{3}	lo^{2}	ykwi?^{32}
S_{15} =	Bal:C_1		BHi	Bald:K_4 [Pred:C_1
	passed	person	and	spoke-he

mdo?o^{1}	tnyo̱^{32}	?i̱^{2}	tsa^{43}
Dev:K_3 <Ant			Cons>]
emerged	work	pronoun	will-go-you

He went by and told you to leave your work and go.

subtype (ix)

	ndiya^{21}	tu?wa^{3}	tš̱ku^{1}	bra^{3}	ko̱?^{2}	lo^{2}	tšu̱?^{23}	tš̱ku^{1}
S_{15} =	Bal:C_2					BHi	Bald:S_{21}	[Top:P_3
	is-belonging	mouth-of	river		then	and	back-of	river

ko̱?^{2}	ndiya^{21}	kontra^{4}	?i̱^{1}	reyi^{34}	bra^{3}	ko̱?^{2}
ER	Comt:C_2]					
that's-the-one	is-belonging	against	to	king		then

He was there on the river bank, and on the other side of the river were those who were against the king.

subtype (x)

	ngata^{32}	ndla^{4}	lo^{2}	ngate̱^{23}	ko^{2}	lo^{2}	ngate̱^{23}	kyo^{3}	lo^{2}
S_{15} =	Bal:C_5		BHi	Bald^{1}:C_5		BHi	Bald^{2}:C_5		BHi
	black	storm-cloud	and	white	cloud	and	white	rain	and

ngate̱^{23}	kyo^{3}	kye^{3}
Bald^{3}:C_5		
white	rain	stone

Storm clouds are black but fog is white, rain is white, and hail is white.

8.3. The symbiotic sentences of class S_{20} are structurally independent, but are symbiotic in that they may refer to preceding or following context. Symbiotic sentences never occur initially in a narrative or conversation. Unlike some types in class S_{10} the tagmeme order is fixed. These types occur with the optional periphery except for S_{23}.

8.3.1. S_{21}, the comment sentence, consists of three nuclear tagmemes, of which one is optional, and the periphery. If the topic tagmeme is not manifested in a given example, the emphatic referent refers back to the preceding context, even to the preceding paragraph. This sentence type is often used in teaching. The emphatic reference and comment tagmemes may be repeated as a unit an indefinite number of times. An aspect sequence of completive-completive never occurs. Very rarely does the manifestation of the comment tagmeme occur in the completive aspect and the topic tagmeme never. S_{21} may be graphically represented thus:

$$S_{21} = \pm J \quad (\pm \text{Top} \quad [+ \text{ER} \quad + \text{Comt}]^{n})$$

The optional periphery is followed by the optional topic tagmeme manifested by P_1, P_2, C_{11}, K_{11}, S_2, S_{32}, or by types from classes C_0 or K_0 (see 9.4.1), followed by the obligatory emphatic reference tagmeme manifested by the relator $ko?^{2}$ 'that's-the-one' (see 9.4.2), followed by the obligatory comment tagmeme manifested by types from classes C_0, C_{10}, or by P_6, C_{21}, K_4, K_{12}, or s_{01} (see 9.4.3).

There are eleven co-occurrence subtypes of S_{21}, which are classified according to the various manifestations of the comment tagmeme. Subtype (i): The topic tagmeme may be absent or manifested by P_1, C_1, C_2, K_1, K_3, or K_{11} when the comment tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (ii): The topic tagmeme may be absent or manifested by $P_{1\cdot3}$, C_2, C_5, or K_2 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by C_2. Subtype (iii): The topic tagmeme may be absent or manifested by P_1, C_1, or C_5 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iv): The topic tagmeme may be manifested by C_{11} or K_1 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by C_3. Subtype (v): The topic tagmeme may be manifested by P_2 or C_2 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by C_4. Subtype (vi): The topic tagmeme may be absent or manifested by P_1 or C_2 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by P_6. Sub-

type (vii): The topic tagmeme may be absent or manifested by P_1 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by K_{12}. Subtype (viii): The topic tagmeme may be absent or may be manifested by P_1 or C_5 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by s_{01}. Subtype (ix): The topic tagmeme is manifested by K_3 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by C_{12}. Subtype (x): The topic tagmeme is manifested by C_2 or S_2 when the comment tagmeme is manifested by K_4. Subtype (xi): The topic tagmeme is manifested by S_{32} when the comment tagmeme is manifested by C_{21}. Examples of S_{21} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i) and (iii)

S_{21} = Top: $P_{1\cdot 3}$

kunǫʔ^{1} wta^{34} nu^{3} ndlo^{32} ti^{3} neʔ^{3} lo^{2} šlyu^{32}
meat cow which getting-out only person with knife

nu^{3} siʔyu^{32} neʔ^{2} lo^{2} šlyu^{32} kǫʔ^{2}
ER
which cut person with knife that's-the-one

kunǫʔ^{1} nu^{3} tsuʔwe^{32} nsuʔwa^{43} neʔ^{2} tehеʔ^{2} kǫʔ^{2}
Comt^{1}: C_1 ER
meat which good putting person salt that's-the-one

kunǫʔ^{1} nu^{3} ndyukwi^{32} ngityi^{1} lo^{3} kwǫ^{3}
Comt^{2}: C_{11}
meat which is-up,dir. drying-it,dir. in heavens

The beef which they cut out with a knife and slice, that is the kind which is good meat and which they salt, that is the kind which is hung up in the sun to dry.

subtype (ii)

S_{21} = kǫʔ^{2} ER — that's-the-one
ndiya^{21} Comt: C_2 — is-belonging
seʔeʔ^{3} su^{32} ska^{3} tškwǫ^{43} yka^{3}
place lying one metal wood

That is the very place where an axe is lying.

subtype (iii)

	kǫ?^{2}	ngwi?ya^{43}	šа^{2}	bra^{3}	kǫ?^{2}
S_{21} =	ER	Comt: C_{11}			
	that's-the-one	descended, dir.	brightness		then

At that very time dawn came.

subtype (iv)

	šnǫ^{1}	lo?o^{1}	yu^{3}	nu^{3}		kwǫ?ǫ^{1}	kǫ?^{2}
S_{21} =	Top: C_{11}						ER
	will-run, dir.	with	man	the-particular		female	that's-the-one

lka^{4}	tiye^{32}	yu^{3}	bra^{3}	kǫ?^{2}
Comt: C_{3}				
is	stomach-of	man		then

The very thing that would please the man was for the woman to run away with him.

subtype (v)

	kalu^{4} kwityi?^{32}	kǫ?^{2}	yku^{32}	lomsa^{34}	nte^{34}
S_{21} =	Top: P_{2}	ER	Comt: C_{4}		
	soup frog	that's-the-one	ate	breakfast-of	people

Frog soup is the very thing the people ate for their breakfast.

subtype (vi)

	wta^{34} nu^{3}	ndlya^{1}		snye?^{32}	kǫ?^{2}
S_{21} =	Top: $P_{1\cdot3}$				ER
	cow which	bearing-it, dir.		child-of	that's-the-one

wta^{34}	ngi?ni^{1}	kwinyi^{3}	wta^{34}	nu^{3}	tsu?we^{32}
Comt: P_{6}	[TopH: $P_{1\cdot2}$		App: $P_{1\cdot3}$]		
cow	making	fertile	cow	which	good

A cow which bears offspring is one which is a good, fertile cow.

subtype (vii)

	kǫ?^{2}	ngusi?ya^{32}	ne?^{2}	?i^{1}	kwilyo?o^{32}	ne?^{2}
S_{21} =	ER	Comt: K_{12} [Sit: C_{1}				
	that's-the-one	called	person	to	spouse-of	person

ngiyo^{32} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2}
Res:C_{11}]
coming-she,dir. then
At that very time he had called to his wife and she came in then.

subtype (viii)

lo^{2} kwi?^{1} nu^{3} ndaha^{32} kǫ?^{2}
S_{21} = J Top:C_5 ER
and same the-particular lazy that's-the-one

nu^{3} ngi?ni^{1} kunǫ^{2} kǫ?^{2} nu^{3}
Comt^{1}:s_{01} [Itr Term:C_1] ER Comt^{2}:s_{01} [Itr
which making robbery that's-the-one which

nduhwi?^{32} wta^{34} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} tšа?^{2} ndihi^{1} tnyi^{34}
Term:S_{11} <Set:C_1 PHi Pur:C_1>]
selling-he cow to person in-order-that gaining-he money

?i^{2} kǫ?^{2} nu^{3} nduhwi?^{32} kwiyu^{34} ?i^{1}
ER Comt^{3}:s_{01} [Itr Term:S_{11} <Set:C_1
pronoun that's-the-one which selling-he mule to

ne?^{3} tšа?^{2} ndihi^{1} tnyi^{34} ?i^{2}
PHi Pur:C_1>]
person in-order-that gaining-he money pronoun

It is the same with a lazy person; he is the one who will commit robbery, the one who will sell other people's cattle to gain money, the one who will sell other people's mules for his own gain.

subtype (ix)

ha^{4} ka?yu^{1} yihǫ^{3} ndo?o^{1} yu^{3} ngiya^{43} yu^{2}
S_{21} = Top:K_3 [Ant:C_1 Cons:C_1]
negation five year emerging man going man

kǫ?^{2} ndyukwa^{32} ?i^{2} ?aymǫ^{4} šiya?^{2} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2}
ER Comt:C_{12}
that's-the-one is-on,dir. pronoun spirit again then

It was not five years before emerging the man went out, and that is the one whom the spirit met again then.

subtype (x)

loga^{4} se$_{\subset}$?e$_{\subset}^{3}$ nu^{3} ndšk^wi?^{32} ne?^{2} lo?o^{1} laha^{32} yu^{2}
S_{21} = Top:$S_{2\cdot 2}$ [Sub$_2$:P_6
place place which speaking person with-it empty ground

tšku^{1} kwityi?^{32} ndšk^wi?^{32} ne?^{2} ko$_{\subset}$?^{2}
Exn:C_1] ER
spring frog speaking person that's-the-one

lka^{4} ngudihi$_{\subset}^{32}$ ne?^{2}
Comt:K_4 [Pred:C_3 Dev:C_1]
is-it passed person

The place which people say is a village which they call Frog Spring, that is the very place which he passed.

subtype (xi)

ndiya^{21} yhwi$_{\subset}^{1}$ ko$_{\subset}$?^{2}
S_{21} = Top:S_{32} [Quot:S_{31} QT:C_{21}] ER
is-belonging said-he that's-the-one

yhwi$_{\subset}^{32}$ ne?^{2} ngwa^{4} tyi^{2}
Comt:C_{21}
said person was,dir. own
"There is" he said, that is what the inhabitant there said.

8.3.2. S_{22}, the alternative sentence, like S_{21} consists of three nuclear tagmemes, of which one is optional, and the periphery. If the proposition tagmeme is not manifested in a given example, the alternative referent nevertheless implies a proposition inherent in the preceding context, either linguistic or behavioural. As well as alternative, this referent usually has an interrogative implication. There is no repetition of tagmemes in this sentence type, and no restriction of the aspect sequence that may occur. S_{22} may be graphically represented thus:

S_{22} = $\pm$ J ($\pm$ Prop + AR + Alt)

The optional periphery is followed by the optional proposition tagmeme manifested by P_1, p_{04}, C_1, K_3, S_2, or S_{23} (see

9.4.4), followed by the obligatory alternative reference tagmeme manifested by the relator ta^{3} 'or-interrogative' (see 9.4.5), followed by the obligatory alternate tagmeme manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, K_4, S_{11}, S_{14}, S_{15}, or S_{24} (see 9.4.6).

There are five subtypes of S_{22}. Subtypes (i) - (iv) are classified according to certain manifestations of the alternate tagmeme. The remaining manifestations of this tagmeme occur only in the absence of the proposition tagmeme and comprise subtype (v). Subtype (i): The proposition tagmeme may be manifested by p_{04}, C_1, K_3, or it may be absent when the alternate tagmeme is manifested by C_3. Subtype (ii): The proposition tagmeme may be manifested by P_1, S_{23}, or it may be absent when the alternate tagmeme is manifested by C_{11}. Subtype (iii): The proposition tagmeme may be manifested by S_2 or it may be absent when the alternate tagmeme is manifested by C_1. Subtype (iv): The proposition tagmeme may be manifested by P_1 or it may be absent when the alternate tagmeme is manifested by S_{11}. Subtype (v): When the proposition tagmeme is absent, the alternate tagmeme may be further manifested by C_5, C_{12}, K_4, S_{14}, S_{15}, or S_{24}. Examples of S_{22} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

	tsa?o^{43}		tsa^{43}	no?o^{43}	ta^{3}
S_{22} =	Prop:K_3	[Ant:C_1	Cons:C_1]		AR
	will-go-I		will-go	seeing-I	or-interrogative

?a^{4}	ty?e^{3}	ka^{4}	kitye^{32}	ndukwa^{43}	kwa^{2}	
Alt:C_3						
negation	resinous	will-be	pitch-pine	is-on	there	

I am going to see whether that pine over there is resinous or not.

subtype (ii)

	ni^{3}	ndška^{4}	ti?^{32}	rantšu^{4}	ta^{3}
S_{22} =	Prop:S_{23}	[Itg	IS]		AR
	what	want-you,dir.		ranch	or-interrogative

ndšką^{4} ti?^{32} tiyẹta^{4}
Alt: C_{11}
want-you shop
What do you want, a ranch or a shop?

subtype (iii)

nọ^{2} ngusi?i^{1} kuwe?^{32} kune?^{1} ?i^{1} ne?^{3}
S_{22} = Prop: S_2 [Sub$_1$: $P_{1\cdot 2}$ Exn: P_4]
thing bought-he pig young to person

ta^{3} nọ^{2} nguda^{43} šu?we^{32} ti^{2} ne?^{3} ?i^{2}
AR Alt: C_1
or-interrogative thing gave free only person pronoun
Did he buy his piglet, or did they give it to him as a present?

subtype (iv)

ta^{3} ndiya^{21} ska^{3} kyha^{3} ?i^{2}
S_{22} = AR Alt: S_{11} [Set: K_{12} <Sit: C_2
or-interrogative is-belonging one tortilla pronoun

kuta^{32} ku^{2} ọ^{2} tša?^{2}
Res: K_{12} (Sit Res)> PHi
will-give-you will-eat we-inclusive in-order-that

tyi?i^{43} ọ^{3}
Pur: C_{12}]
will-live, dir. we-inclusive
Don't you have a tortilla or something to give us to eat so that we can all go on living?

subtype (v)

ta^{3} nọ?^{2} nọ?ọ^{43} ndu^{1}
S_{22} = AR Att: K_4 [Dev: K_4 <Pred Dev>
or-interrogative I seeing-I standing-you

skye?^{3} ti?^{32}
Pred: C_1]
will-think-you
Or will you think that I saw you standing there?

8.3.3. S_{23}, the interrogative sentence, consists of two nuclear tagmemes, one obligatory and one optional, without the periphery. This sentence type is symbiotic with the reply to such an inquiry, and such a reply is usually a simple sentence from class S_0 that occurs in the following context. S_{23} may be graphically represented thus:

S_{23} = (+ Itg $\pm$ IS)

The obligatory interrogation tagmeme manifested by P_{34} or the particles ni^3 'what?' and ti^3 'who?' from subclass $W_{14\cdot4}$ (see 9.4.7) is followed by the optional inquiry statement tagmeme manifested by types from classes C_0, C_{10}, K_0, K_{10}, or by S_{11} or S_{15} (see 9.4.8). There are no subtypes of S_{23}. Examples of S_{23} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) lo^3 ya^{32} ndi?i$^{23}_{?}$ ne?^{2} ni^3
S_{23} = Itg: P_{34} IS: C_2
where is-living person now
Where does he live now?

(b) ni^3 bra^{34} lka^4 ni^2
S_{23} = Itg: $W_{14\cdot4}$ IS: C_3
what hour is now
What time is it now?

(c) ni^3 tšа?^{32} la^2 ?a^1 ngiyo$^{32}_{?}$
S_{23} = Itg: P_{34} IS: C_{11}
what thing fierce very coming-you,dir.
Why are you coming here when you are so cross?

(d) ni^3 tnyo$^{32}_{?}$ ndukwa^{32} ?i$^2_{?}$?ni^{43} nde^2
S_{23} = Itg: P_{34} IS: K_2 [Act Inst]
what work is-on pronoun making here
What are you doing sitting here?

(e) ni^3 ngwa?^{43} mdukwa^1 yu^3 yku^2 yu^3 kyha^3
S_{23} = Itg: P_{34} IS: K_{11} [Ax Elb]
when were-on man ate man tortilla
When were the men here and ate their meal?

(f) ni^{3} tšaʔ^{32} ndǫ̨ʔǫ̨^{32} tškwǫ̨^{43} tšaʔ^{2}
S_{23} = Itg:P_{34} IS:S_{11} [Set PHi
what thing walking metal in-order-that

nsuʔwa^{43} nu^{2} tsa^{43} nǫ̨^{1} ʔį̨^{3}
Pur]
putting which will-go look-for pronoun
Why are the bells ringing to send out whoever will go to look for them?

(g) ni^{3} ngwaʔ^{43}
S_{23} = Itg:P_{34} (without IS)
when?
When?

8.3.4. S_{24}, the inquiry sentence, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes and the periphery. Like S_{23} this type is symbiotic with the reply to its query. S_{24} may be graphically represented thus:

$S_{24} = \pm J \quad (+ QSt \quad + qmr)$

The optional periphery is followed by the obligatory question statement tagmeme manifested by types from class C_0 or by C_{11}, K_4, K_{12}, S_{11}, or S_{22} (see 9.4.9), followed by the obligatory question marker tagmeme manifested by the minor word ʔa^{4} ~ a^{4} 'question-indicator' (see 9.4.10). There are two subtypes of S_{24}. Subtype (i): When the question statement tagmeme is manifested by a clause, the question marker tagmeme may precede the post-peripheral time clause-level tagmeme, and/or replaces the post-peripheral boundary clause-level tagmeme. Subtype (ii): When the question statement tagmeme is manifested by a colon, the question marker tagmeme acts as the termination marker of the sentence. From the paucity of examples encountered, it is not yet known whether a third subtype is formed when the question statement tagmeme is manifested by a sentence. Such examples are therefore included in subtype (ii). Examples of S_{24} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

subtype (i)

(a) ha^{4} tukwi$^{2}_{\varsigma}$ ngudihi$^{32}_{\varsigma}$ nde^{3} ʔa^{4} ni^{2}
S_{24} = QSt: C_1 qmr T
nobody passed here question-indicator now
Has anybody passed by here today?

(b) šiʔya^{1} ni^{2} ʔa^{4}
S_{24} = QSt: C_{11} qmr
will-shout-you, dir. now question-indicator
Will that make you shout now?

subtype (ii)

(a) kuta^{32} kwiʔyo$^{43}_{\varsigma}$ ni^{2} ʔa^{4}
S_{24} = QSt: K_{12} [Sit Res] qmr
will-give-you will-carry-I now question-indicator
Will you give it to me to carry now?

(b) wa^{2} no$^{43}_{\varsigma\varsigma}$ tšaʔ^{2}
S_{24} = QSt: S_{11} [Set PHi
completion seeing-I to-the-effect-that

kyo$^{43}_{\varsigma}$ lo?o^{1} ?i$^{1}_{\varsigma}$ yu^{3} ?a^{4}
Pur] qmr
will-come-I, dir. with-you to man question-indicator
I saw that I am to come with you to the man?

8.4. The two quotation sentence types in class S_{30} describe direct quotations, but indirect quotation, which is seldom used, occurs as C_1, C_{11}, or K_4. The periphery does not occur with the types in class S_{30}. The minimum of these types is the simplest and the maximum the most complex of all the sentence types as these two include all other types.

8.4.1. S_{31}, the address sentence, consists of three optional nuclear tagmemes, of which one of the first two must occur; the subject addressed and vocative address tagmemes may not both occur without the address tagmeme between them. S_{31} may be graphically represented thus:

S_{31} = (+ [± SAd ± Ads] ± VAd)

The optional subject addressed tagmeme, manifested by P_5, or a noun from class W_2 (see 9.5.1), is followed by the optional address tagmeme manifested by almost any phrase, clause, colon, or sentence type, or by a single clause- or sentence-level tagmeme, or by an onomatopoetic word[27] (see 9.5.2); followed by the optional vocative address tagmeme manifested by P_5, or a noun from class W_2 (see 9.5.3). Examples of S_{31} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

SAd:P_5 ta^{32} šu?^{2} 'Father aged' (Grandfather); Ads:P_1 ska^{3} wta^{34} tlyu^{2} 'one cow big' (a big cow); Ads:P_{12} la^{3} kwa^{3} la^{3} tši?^{1} 'towards there more a-little' (That way a little more.); Ads:P_{32} ti^{1} šno^{1} lo^{2} ko?^{12} 'ten another-three in month' (the 13th of the month); Ads:p_{04} ?a^{4} ska^{2} 'negation one' (none); Ads:C_3 lka^{4} msu^{34} ?yo^{21} 'is-he servant to-me' (He is my servant.); Ads:C_{11} kya^{43} tyo^{43} tnyi^{34} ?i^{2} 'tomorrow will-give-I,dir. money pronoun' (I will pay you tomorrow.); Ads:C_{22} šnyi^{32} tu?^{32} 'will-take-you,dir. for-sure' (Take it.); Ads:C_{31} bra^{34} wa^{2} tla^{4} ti^{3} 'hour completion night only' (just at night);

(a) kuta^{32} hakwa^{3} pšu^{34} ndška^{4} ti?^{43}
S_{31} = Ads:K_4 [Dev Pred]
will-give-you four pesos want-I,dir.
I want you to give me four pesos.

(b) kuta^{32} ska^{2} kwi?yo^{43}
S_{31} = Ads:K_{12} [Sit Res]
will-give-you one will-carry-I
You give me one and I will carry it.

(c) we^{3} ni^{2} tsa^{43} nu?u^{1}
S_{31} = Ads:S_1 [J Epn:C_1]
good now will-go-you with-me
All right, you go with me now.

[27] Onomatopoetic words have not yet been classified under the system described in 1.0.

(d) ndi^{2} ʔa^{4} šiʔya^{32} ʔba^{3} si^{1}
S_{31} = Ads:S_{14} [Inj CnHi
little-while will-shout-you,dir. to-we-exclusive if

nsuʔwi^{32} tiʔa^{2}
Cond]
there-is water
If you find water in a minute shout to us.

(e) ta^{3} koʔo^{32} si^{1} tsa^{43} ʔyǫ^{43}
S_{31} = Ads:S_{22} [AR Alt:S_{14} <Inj CnHi Cond>]
or-interrogative will-drink-you if will-go carry-I
Or will you drink it if I bring some?

(f) nu^{3} ndiya^{21} tu^{3} nǫʔǫ^{3} kušiʔ^{2} snyeʔ^{43}
S_{31} = Ads:s_{01} [Itr Term] VAd:$W_{2\cdot 2}$
which is-belonging door blue Child
Where the blue door is, Son.

(g) snǫ^{1} yla^{3} nsuʔwi^{32} ti^{1} tše^{32}
S_{31} = Ads:c_{04} VAd:P_{5}
three score there-is ten Friend
Seventy, Friend.

(h) nǫ^{32} ha^{4} ndiʔi^{32} yhwi^{32} neʔ^{2} ʔyǫ^{21}
S_{31} = SAd:P_{5} Ads:S_{32} [Quot QT]
mother negation is-living-he said person to-me
Mother, he isn't there, they told me.

(i) ni^{2} bi^{3}
S_{31} = Ads:T (time clause-level tagmeme) VAd:$W_{2\cdot 2}$
now You
Now!

(j) wau^{23} wau^{23}, wau^{23} wau^{23}
S_{31} = Ads:onomatopoetic word
the sound made by a coyote howling

(k) škwe^{2} ʔo^{4} ha^{4} šiʔya^{32} tše^{32}
S_{31} = SAd:P_{5} Ads:C_{11} VAd:P_{5}
Friend Coyote negation will-shout-you,dir. Friend
Friend Coyote, don't make yourself howl, Friend.

8.4.2. S_{32}, the quotative sentence, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes. This type occurs only in narrative. S_{32} may be graphically represented thus:

S_{32} = (+ Quot + QT)

The obligatory quotation tagmeme manifested by S_{31} (see 9.5.4) is followed by the obligatory quotation termination tagmeme manifested by C_{21}, K_1, or K_{11} (see 9.5.5). The minimum manifestation of S_{32} consists of two words only as shown in the following examples.

(a) tšo?^{32} yhwi^{1}
S_{32} = Quot:S_{31} QT:C_{21}
Friend said-she
"Friend" she said (woman speaking to woman).

(b) tsa?o^{43} yhwi^{1}
S_{32} = Quot:S_{31} QT:C_{21}
will-go-I said-he
"I'll go" he/she said.

(c) we^{3} ni^{2} ?ni^{32}
S_{32} = Quot:S_{31} QT:C_{21}
good now makes-he
"All right" he said.

A complex example of S_{32} follows with constituent tagmemes indicated.

ta^{3} ndiya^{21} kasiyu^{4} tša?^{2}
S_{32} = Quot:S_{31} [Ads:S_{22} <AR Alt:S_{11} (Set:C_2 PHi
or-interrogative is-belonging occasion in-order-that

ku^{2} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} ?yo^{21} tše^{32} kwitši^{3} yhwi^{32}
Pur:C_1)> VAd:P_5] QT:C_{21}
will-eat animal this of-me Friend rabbit said

nu^{3} buru^{2} ʔi$^{1}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ nu^{3} kwitš̌i^{3} bra^{3} kǫ$^{2}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ʔ^{2}

the-particular donkey to the-particular rabbit then
Or do you think there is reason for this animal to eat me, Friend Rabbit? said the donkey to the rabbit then.

8.5. From data analysed to date, only one minor sentence type has been encountered. Like the minor clauses and minor phrases, this minor sentence may manifest a phrase-level tagmeme, the description post-peripheral tagmeme in $P_{1\cdot3}$ (see 3.1.12). This type may also manifest a subject or object clause-level tagmeme, and occurs without the sentence periphery.

s_{01}, the relative minor sentence, consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, and the tagmeme order is fixed. s_{01} may be graphically represented thus:

s_{01} = (+ Itr + Term)

The obligatory introducer tagmeme manifested by a relator particle from subclass $W_{14\cdot4}$ or by $W_{02\cdot2}$ (see 9.6.1) is followed by the obligatory terminator tagmeme manifested by types from C_0, C_{10}, K_{10}, or by K_1, K_4, or S_{11} (see 9.6.2). Examples of s_{01} follow with constituent tagmemes indicated.

(a) nu^{3} ya^{43} nǫ$^{2}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ʔǫ$^{2}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ lo ʔo^{1} nǫ$^{2}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ kwinyi^{3} ʔi$^{1}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ yu^{3}
s_{01} = Itr: $W_{02\cdot2}$ Term: C_1
which went house with thing fertile to man
...who went to the house with the man's fertile animal.

(b) ni^{3} tsǫ$^{23}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ ndiya^{21} kwintu^{34} kwa^{2}
s_{01} = Itr: $W_{14\cdot4}$ Term: C_2
what day is-belonging story there
...when that story took place

(c) nu^{3} lye^{32} kyo^{2} kwi$^{2}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ʔi$^{3}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$
s_{01} = Itr: $W_{02\cdot2}$ Term: C_{13}
which much rain wind
...when the wind is driving the rain

(d) nu^{3} ngudiya^{21} kye^{3} ngudiya^{21} kitu$^{2}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$
s_{01} = Itr:$w_{02 \cdot 2}$ Term:K_{1} [Sta Sta]
which was-belonging stone was-belonging gun
...who had stones and guns

(e) nu^{3} ku?ni^{32} ku?u^{1} kuwi?^{32} ?i$^{1}_{\underset{\sim}{}}$ ne?^{3}
s_{01} = Itr:$w_{02 \cdot 2}$ Term:K_{12} [Sit Res]
which will-make-he will-live baby to person
...who will do something so that their baby will live

9. Sentence-Level Tagmemes

The manifestations of sentence tagmemes range from a minor word to a complex sentence.

9.1. At the sentence syntactic level, the periphery is very limited. The periphery, common to all sentence types that may occur with a periphery, consists of one tagmeme which always occurs initially. One further peripheral tagmeme occurs in S_{14}.

9.1.1. Junction. This tagmeme is manifested by a limited number of forms demonstrating continuation of a narrative, conversation, etc. These forms include the conjunction lo^{2} 'and' from subclass $W_{14}.2$, the temporal nouns ni^{2} 'now', kya^{43} 'tomorrow' from subclass $W_{3}.1$, or phrases including these nouns such as wo^{3} ni^{2} 'or now', (a pause filler), or la^{3} kya^{43} 'towards tomorrow' (tomorrow) of the P_{12} type, and short clauses expressing agreement or a contraction of such a clause of the C_3 or C_5 types. J:C_5 tsu?we^{32} ?i̯^{2} ni^{2} 'is-good pronoun now' (It/you is/are all right now); J:C_5 we^{3} ni^{2} 'is-good (contraction) now' (All right); J:C_3 ka^{4} no̯^{2} 'will-be thing' (That's how it is, so). The junction tagmeme occurs infrequently, but marks sentence-level constructions. It may occur in S_1, S_2, S_{11}, S_{12}, S_{13}, S_{14}, S_{15}, S_{21}, S_{22}, or S_{24}.

9.1.2. Focus. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1 and its function appears to be to focus the attention on the sentence following. F:P_1 ska^{3} tšа?^{32} 'one word' (I am giving you a word of warning...), nu^{3} kuno̯^{2} i̯^{3} 'the-particular robber pronoun' (This is what a robber is like...) The focus tagmeme occurs only in S_{14}.

9.2. There are only three tagmemes comprising the nuclei of the two simple sentences in class S_0.

9.2.1. Expression. This tagmeme is manifested by any clause type in classes C_0, C_{10}, or C_{20}, or by any colon type in classes K_0 or K_{10}.

Epn:C_1 nsta^1 ne?^{3} yu^3 šą^2 kita^{32} ne?^{2} nǫ^2 kwinyi^3 'breaking-up person ground light will-plant person thing fertile' (They break up the ground when they are going to plant seeds.); Epn:C_2 ndiya^{21} ska^3 nu^3 kwitši^3 'is-belonging one the-particular rabbit' (There was a particular rabbit.); Epn:C_3 ska^3 lka^4 kye^{32} ngwiyu?^{23} kwa^2 'one is flower spider mauve' (One is the mauve spider flower.); Epn:C_4 ha^4 šǫ?ǫ^1 libru^{34} nde^2 ?nǫ^3 ni^2 'negation will-change book here to-we-inclusive now' (We will not exchange these books of ours now.); Epn:C_5 tlyu^3 ?a^1 kunǫ^1 yhwi^1 ne?^{3} kwa^3 'big very snake killed person there' (The snake that those people killed was very big.); Epn:C_{11} ndyo?o^1 kwǫ^3 kwitši^3 bra^3 kǫ?^{2} 'emerging,dir. heavens rabbit then' (The rabbit was made to jump then.); Epn:C_{12} ndyu?wi^{43} lyo^2 se^3 nga?a^1 'there-is,dir. knowledge-you Joe red' (You know Red Joe.); Epn:C_{13} lye^{32} ndška^{43} ti?yu^{23} ka^3 sį^2 'much is, dir. thunder yesterday evening' (It really thundered last evening.); Epn:C_{21} yhwį^{32} nu^3 kunǫ^1 tlyu^3 ?į^1 la^3 ku?nǫ^2 bra^3 kǫ?^{2} 'said the-particular snake big to alligator then' (The big snake said (that) to the alligator then.); Epn:C_{22} hyǫ^{43} tǫ?^{43} 'will-return-I for-sure-I' (I will certainly come back.);

(a) Epn = K_1 [Sta ki?ǫ^4 loyu^{21} ndiya^{21} Sta] ki?ǫ^4 tša?^{32} ndiya^{21}
many country is-belonging many word is-belonging
There are many countries and many languages.

(b) Epn = K_2 [Act hyǫ^{32} nu^3 wo?o^4 Inst] ndiya^{21} kwitu^{23}
will-return the-particular coyote is-belonging chicken
The coyote will return because the chickens are there.

(c) ndo?o^{1} ngiya^{43} nu^{2} ngate^{23} bra^{3} ko^{2}
Epn = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging going the-particular white then
Emerging the white one left then.

(d) ti?i^{1} kuwe?^{32} tsu?we^{32} nyo?o^{43} sa^{3} kuwe?^{32} tihyo^{23}
Epn = K_5 [The Athe]
heavy pig good looking, dir. light pig bone
A healthy pig is heavy but a bony pig is light.

(e) šnyo^{43} ska^{2} nte^{34} tnu^{3}
Epn = K_{11} [Ax
will-shake, dir. one person great

šnyo^{32} ti^{3} bra^{3} ko?^{2}
Elb]
will-shake-he, dir. rope then
A great man will shake it, he will shake the rope then.

(f) škwa^{32} kyha^{3} ku^{2} y?o^{1} ndre^{4}
Epn = K_{12} [Sit Res]
will-make-you, dir. tortilla will-eat mother-of Andrés
You will make tortillas for Andrew's mother to eat.

(g) ni^{2} kustu^{43} msno^{34} ?yo^{21}
Epn = K_{13} [Init
now will-pluck-I apple to-me

kya^{43} tsa^{43} hwi?^{43} lo^{2} kiya?^{3}
Seq]
tomorrow will-go sell-I in market
I will pick my apples today and tomorrow I will go and sell them in the market.

The expression tagmeme occurs only in S_1.

9.2.2. Substance. This tagmeme has two allotagmas and the substance$_1$ allotagma is manifested by P_1 whereas the substance$_2$ allotagma is manifested by P_6. Sub_1: $P_{1\cdot3}$?ni^{3} nu^{3} no^{2} kwityi?^{32} 'animal which is-name frog' (the animal called frog...), Sub_2: P_6 ska^{3} ne?^{3} ska^{3} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} 'one

person one person different' (a person, a gentleman). The substance tagmeme occurs only in S_2.

9.2.3. Explanation. This tagmeme is manifested by P_4, C_1, K_1, or K_{12} in data so far analysed. Exn:P_4 kuwe?^{32} kune?^{1} ?i̱^{1} ne?^{3} 'pig young to person' (his piglet); Exn:C_1 tšku^{1} kwityi?^{32} ndškwi?^{32} ne?^{2} 'spring frog saying person' (They call it Frog Spring).

(a) nte̱^{34} ku?ni^{43} kuno̱^{34} lka^{4} ko̱?^{2}
Exn = K_1 [Sta
people will-make robbery is that-one

nte̱^{34} ku?ni^{43} še?o̱^{34} lka^{4} ko̱?^{2}
Sta]
people will-make wicked is that-particular
They are people who commit robbery, people who do wicked things.

(b) ngu?ni^{1} ne?^{3} kalu^{4} nguda^{1} ne?^{3} yku̱^{1}
Exn = K_{12} [Sit:C_1 Res:K_{12} <Sit Res>]
made person soup gave person ate-I
They made soup, gave it to me and I ate it.

The explanation tagmeme occurs only in S_2.

9.3. Class S_{10}, comprising hinge sentences, is the largest sentence class, and each type in it is composed of three obligatory nuclear tagmemes.

9.3.1. Setting. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_{11}, K_1, K_2, K_3, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, S_{14}, S_{15}, S_{22}, or S_{23}.

Set:C_1 ha^{4} ko?o^{32} mškalyu^{4} ni^{2} 'negation will-drink-he mezcal now' (He will not drink mezcal now...); Set:C_2 tukwa^{1} nu^{3} tsa^{43} ?ya^{32} ka?^{12} 'will-be-on which will-go carry coffin' (There will be those who are going to carry the coffin.); Set:C_3 ha^{4} lka^{4} tša?^{32} 'negation is thing' (It isn't a reason...); Set:C_4 wa^{2} ngite̱^{2} ste?^{3} ba^{2} tlya^{4} ni^{2} 'com-

pletion washing clothes-of we-exclusive early now' (We washed our clothes early today.); Set: C_{11} nto^{3} ti^{3} tyu^{2} o^{2} 'sloping only will-stand, dir. we-inclusive' (We will all stand leaning forwards.);

(a) wa^{2} ngudiyo^{1} kandore^{4} wa^{2} ngudiyo^{1} muska^{4}
Set = K_1 [Sta Sta]
completion returned cantor completion returned music
The cantor had returned, and so had the band...

(b) kyo^{32} lya^{1} nsi?ya^{1} ne?^{3} ?i^{2}
Set = K_2 [Act Inst]
will-come-you, dir. immediately calling person pronoun
Come in right away because they are calling you.

(c) ndo?o^{1} yu^{3} ngiya^{43} yu^{2}
Set = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging man going man
Emerging the man went.

(d) tihyu?^{2} ko?^{2} ška^{1} tšalyu^{21} lka^{4} ko?^{2}
Set = K_{11} [Ax Elb]
far that-particular another world is that-particular
That place is very far away, it is another world there.

(e) ha^{4} ndiya^{21} kyha^{3} kuta^{32} ska^{3}
Set = K_{12} [Sit Res: K_{12} <Sit
negation is-belonging tortilla will-give-you one

ku^{2} o^{2}
Res>]
will-eat we-inclusive
Don't you have a tortilla you will give us to eat?

(f) nšo?^{1} ti?i^{32} ne?^{2} slya?^{32} ?i^{1} ne?^{3}
Set = K_{13} [Init
collecting, dir. will-live person sheep to person

nsu?wa^{43} ne?^{2} ni?^{3} lyo?o^{32}
Seq]
putting person inside inside-corral
They are collecting their sheep together and putting them inside the corral.

(g) si^{1} tyukwa^{43} snadadu^{4} ?i^{2}
Set = S_{14} [CnHi Cond
if will-be-on,dir. soldier pronoun

ha^{4} šnǫ^{1}
Inj]
negation will-run-you,dir.
If the soldiers are there in charge of you, don't run away.

(h) hwaki^{32} lo^{2} hwaki^{43}
Set = S_{15} [Bal BHi Bald]
will-pull-you and will-pull-I
You pull and I'll pull...

(i) ta^{3} tšanyi^{2}
Set = S_{22} [AR Alt]
or-interrogative true
Or is it true... ?

(j) la^{3} ka^{4} ndukwa^{32} ni^{2}
Set = S_{23} [Itg IS]
where will-be is-on-you now
Where will you be seated?

The setting tagmeme occurs only in S_{11}.

9.3.2. Purpose Hinge. This tagmeme is manifested by the conjunction tša?^{2} 'in-order-that/to-the-effect-that' from subclass $W_{14\cdot 2}$ and acts as the hinge on which the relationship between the setting and purposive tagmemes depends in S_{11}. The purpose hinge tagmeme occurs only in S_{11}.

9.3.3. Purposive. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1,

C_2, C_3, C_{11}, C_{12}, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, or S_{14}. It is the manifestations of this tagmeme which determine eight of the nine co-occurrence subtypes of S_{11}.

Pur:C_1 ha^4 nyo^{43} ne?^{2} ?i^3 'negation looking, dir. person pronoun' (They will not see you.); Pur:C_2 ha^4 tukwi^2 ndiya^{21} ?yo^{21} 'nobody is-belonging to-me' (I have no relatives.); Pur:C_3 no^2 lko^1 'I am-I' (It is I.); Pur:C_{11} šu^{32} wo^2 'will-fight, dir. you-pl.' (You will all fight with each other.); Pur:C_{12} tyukwa^{32} si?^{2} snye?^{32} reyi^4 bra^3 ko^2 'will-be-on-it, dir. waist-her child-of king then' (It will be round the king's daughter's waist then.);

(a) kaha^{43} no^2 ko?o^{32} kuwi?^{32} ?i^1 ne?^{3}
Pur = K_2 [Act Inst]
will-obtain-he thing will-drink baby to person
He will get something for their baby to drink.

(b) kyo^{32} ku^{32} tlya^{32}
Pur = K_3 [Ant Cons]
will-come-he, dir. will-eat dinner-his
He will come in and eat his dinner.

(c) taka^4 ?i^2 kulo^{32} ti?a^3
Pur = K_4 [Dev:K_4 <Pred Dev>
will-be, dir. to-you will-draw-out-you water

ka^4 ?i^2
Pred:C_3]
will-be to-you
You will be able to find water.

(d) no^2 taka^4 ?i^2
Pur = K_{11} [Ax
thing will-be, dir. pronoun

kulo^{32} ti?a^3 kitše^3 bra^3 ko^2
Elb]
will-draw-out-he water town then
The thing he could do was to find water in the town then.

(e) wa^{2} ki?nyi^{2} ?a^{1} ngulu^{32} ?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$
Pur = K_{12} [Sit
completion deep very dug-he pronoun

ngulihyi^{32} kwi?^{1} tu^{3} ndsko$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ bra^{3} ko$^{?2}_{\downarrow}$
Res]
lacked same earhole-his then
He had dug it very deep, right up to his earholes in fact.

(f) kaha^{43} ka?^{12} si^{1} kwa^{3}
Pur = S_{14} [Inj CnHi Cond]
will-obtain-he coffin if there
...he will have a coffin if that's all.

The purposive tagmeme occurs only in S_{11}.

9.3.4. Reason. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{31}, K_1, K_4, or S_{14}.

Rea:C_1 ngiya^{43} kwe$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ lo^{2} lambre^{4} 'going-it loudly in wire' (The wire hums loudly.); Rea:C_2 nsu?wi^{32} ndla^{4} lo^{3} kutš̌a^{2} 'there-is cloud on sun' (There is a cloud over the sun.); Rea:C_3 no$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ ndš̌ku^{32} nte$^{34}_{\downarrow}$ lka^{4} 'thing eating people is' (It is a thing that people eat.); Rea:C_5 š̌e?o$^{34}_{\downarrow}$ nu?wi$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ 'wicked you-familiar' (You are wicked.); Rea:C_{11} lye^{32} ?a$^{1}_{\downarrow}$ nš̌kwa^{43} tyi?i^{2} o$^{3}_{\downarrow}$ 'much very lying,dir. smell them' (Their odour is very fragrant/strong.); Rea:C_{12} ndyi$^{?i}_{\downarrow}$^{32} kwi$^{?i}_{\downarrow}$^{3} ?i$^{1}_{\downarrow}$ o$^{3}_{\downarrow}$ 'is-living,dir. wind to them' (The wind is blowing them.); Rea:C_{31} š̌a^{2} nu^{3} š̌lyu^{32} ne?^{2} mokino$^{4}_{\downarrow}$ su$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ lambre^{4} 'light which will-turn,dir. person machine base wire' (When they turn the machine at the base of the (telegraph) wire...);

(a) nguhwi^{32} y?o$^{1}_{\downarrow}$ nguhwi^{32} sti$^{32}_{\downarrow}$
Res = K_1 [Sta Sta]
died mother-my died father-my
My mother and father are dead.

(b) tsu?we^{32} ndšku^{32}
Rea = K_4 [Pred Dev]
good eating
It is good to eat.

(c) kuhwi^{32} ?i̱^{1} nte̱^{34} si^{1} tškwi?^{32} ne?^{2} lo?o^{1}
Rea = S_{14} [Inj CnHi Cond]
will-kill-he to people if will-speak person with-him
He will kill people if they speak to him.

The reason tagmeme occurs only in S_{12}.

9.3.5. Reason Hinge. This tagmeme is manifested by the particular example of the stative clause (C_5) ko̱?^{2} tša?^{2} 'that-particular thing' (that's why), and acts as the hinge on which the relationship between the reason and outcome tagmemes depends in S_{12}. The reason hinge tagmeme occurs only in S_{12}.

9.3.6. Outcome. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, K_2, K_{11}, or S_{11}. It is certain manifestations of this tagmeme which determine three of the four subtypes of S_{12}. The remaining manifestations of the outcome tagmeme occur only when the reason tagmeme is manifested by C_1, and comprise subtype (iv):

Out:C_1 ndšku^{32} wo̱^{2} ?i̱^{3} 'eating you-pl./respectful pronoun' (...you eat it); Out:C_3 ha^{4} lka^{4} tsu?we^{32} ?i̱^{2} 'negation is good pronoun' (It is not any good to you.); Out: C_5 ha^{4} tikye?^{2} kwo̱^{3} 'negation hot heavens' (The sun is not hot.);

(a) yne̱^{32} ytsu^{1} ti?yu^{23}
Out = K_2 [Act Inst]
sounded-it erupted thunder
...the thunder roared

(b) t?no$_{\text{¸}}^{2}$?a^{1} ndi?i$_{\text{¸}}^{43}$ sko$_{\text{¸}}^{43}$ ti^{2} nskwo$_{\text{¸}}^{43}$ ti?i$_{\text{¸}}^{32}$
Out = K_{11} [Ax Elb]
poor very is-living-I one-I only lying-I will-be-living
I am so poorly off and lie here all alone.

(c) ndiya^{21} siye$_{\text{¸}}$?^{32} tša?^{2}
Out = S_{11} [Set PHi
is-belonging nose-his in-order-that

kiti?^{2} ni^{3} tyi?i^{3} ndška^{43} no$_{\text{¸}}^{2}$
Pur]
will-detect-he what smell is,dir. thing
People have noses so that they will distinguish the odours of things.

The outcome tagmeme occurs only in S_{12}.

9.3.7. Suggestion. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_{11}, C_{12}, K_4, S_{14}, or S_{31} in data so far encountered.

Sug:C_1 ha^{4} ku^{2} no$_{\text{¸}}^{2}$ la^{2} lo^{3} kuwi?^{32} ?yo$_{\text{¸}}^{21}$ 'negation will-eat-you thing fierce with baby to-me' (Don't eat piquant things in front of my baby.); Sug:C_{11} šu?wa^{32} ti?^{32} ?yo$_{\text{¸}}^{21}$ 'will-remember-you,dir. to-me' (You will remember me.); Sug:C_{12} nde^{3} ?wo$_{\text{¸}}^{3}$ tyi?i$_{\text{¸}}^{43}$ ba^{3} ši?i^{1} 'here to-you-pl. will-be-living,dir. we-exclusive little-while' (We will stay here at your place for a little while.);

(a) wa^{2} lka^{4} nyo$_{\text{¸}}$?o$_{\text{¸}}^{43}$ no$_{\text{¸}}^{2}$ ska^{3} ?ni^{3}
Sug = K_4 [Pred Dev]
completion is kind-of name one animal
It was that one animal was named that way...

(b) si^{1} tyukwa^{32} sndadu^{4} ?i$_{\text{¸}}^{2}$ ha^{4}
Sug = S_{14} [CnHi Cond Inj:S_{11} <Set
if will-be-on,dir. soldier pronoun negation

šnǫ^{32} tša?^{2} kǫ^{43} ne?^{2} ?i^{3}
PHi Pur>]
will-run-he,dir. in-order-that will-shoot person pronoun
If the soldiers catch him he must not try to run away or they will shoot him.

(c) ha^{4} ši?ya^{43} tše^{32}
Sug = S_{31} [Ads VAd]
negation will-shout-you,dir. Friend
Don't shout, Friend!

The suggestion tagmeme occurs only in S_{13}.

9.3.8. Cause Hinge. This tagmeme is manifested by the conjunction si?ya^{1} 'because/since' from subclass $W_{14\cdot 2}$ and acts as the hinge on which the relationship between the suggestion and cause tagmemes depends in S_{13}. The cause hinge tagmeme occurs only in S_{13}.

9.3.9. Cause. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1 and once by C_{13} in data so far encountered.

Cau:C_1 yku^{2} kuwi?^{32} ?yǫ^{21} pastiya^{4} 'ate baby of-mine pill' (My baby has taken some pills.); Cau:C_{13} su?wa^{43} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} ?ni^{3} ?i^{3} 'same looking,dir. animal pronoun' (The animal looks the same as it.)

The cause tagmeme occurs only in S_{13}.

9.3.10. Injunction. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, or S_{11}.

Inj:C_1 kaha^{43} ntę^{34} 'will-die people' (People will die.); Inj:C_3 tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} tnyǫ^{32} ku?ni^{32} 'good is work will-make-you' (It will be a good work that you are doing.); Inj:C_5 la^{3} kǫ?^{2} 'fierce that-particular' (That one/those are dangerous.); Inj:C_{11} ha^{4} ki?ya^{1} kwinta^{34} 'negation will-descend-you,dir. account' (Don't take any notice.);

(a) ha^{4} ka^{4} hlyo^{32} ti?^{32} nyo̤?o̤^{43} ku?ni^{32}
Inj = K_4 [Pred Dev]
negation will-be will-know-you kind-of will-make-you
You are not able to know what to do.

(b) ha^{4} kusu?wa^{32} ki?ya^{2} ?yo̤^{21}
Inj = K_{11} [Ax
negation will-put-you sin to-me

ha^{4} tyo?o^{1} ki?ya^{2} ?yo̤^{21}
Elb]
negation will-emerge,dir. sin to-me
Don't charge me with the sin, it won't be blamed on me.

(c) ha^{4} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} tiye^{32} ne?^{2} ku^{2} ne?^{3}
Inj = K_{12} [Sit Res]
negation good is stomach-of person will-eat person
It does not please them to eat.

(d) ha^{4} šno̤^{32} tša?^{2}
Inj = S_{11} [Set PHi
negation will-run-he,dir. in-order-that

kṳ^{43} ne?^{2} ?i̤^{3}
Pur]
will-shoot person pronoun
He must not run away or they will shoot him.

The injunction tagmeme occurs only in S_{14}.

9.3.11. Condition Hinge. This tagmeme is manifested by a conjunction borrowed from Spanish si^{1} 'if' from subclass $W_{14\cdot 2}$, and acts as the hinge on which the relationship between the injunction and condition tagmemes depends in S_{14}. The condition hinge tagmeme occurs only in S_{14}.

9.3.12. Condition. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_2, S_{32}, P_4, or $P_{11\cdot 2}$. It is certain manifestations of this tagmeme that determine six of the seven subtypes of S_{14}. The remaining manifestations of the

condition tagmeme occur only when the injunction tagmeme is manifested by C_1 and comprise subtype (vii).

Cond:C_1 ku^2 ne?^{3} ?i$^2_{\zeta}$ 'will-eat person pronoun' (They will eat it.); Cond:C_2 tsu?we^{32} nsu?wi^{32} tiye^{32} nte$^{34}_{\zeta}$?i$^2_{\zeta}$ 'good there-is stomach-of people pronoun' (People are happy with you.); Cond:C_5 kwa^3 'there' (...that's all/that); Cond:C_{11} ha^4 tukwi$^2_{\zeta}$ šu$^{32}_{\zeta}$ lo?o^1 ?i$^3_{\zeta}$ 'nobody will-fight,dir. with pronoun' (No one will fight with them/you/him.); Cond: C_{12} tyukwa^{32} sndadu^4 ?i$^3_{\zeta}$ 'will-be-on,dir. soldier pronoun' (The soldiers will-catch him.); Cond:C_{13} ndška^{32} ?i$^1_{\zeta}$ reyi^{34} ?i$^2_{\zeta}$ 'is-you,dir. to king pronoun' (The king wants you.);

(a) Cond = K_2 [Act
kaha^{32} ku^{32} ?i$^1_{\zeta}$?i$^3_{\zeta}$
Inst]
will-die-you will-eat-you to pronoun
You will die (if) you eat it.

(b) Cond = S_{32} [Quot
šlya^{43} ?i$^2_{\zeta}$ nu^3 ndška^{32} ti?^{32} tiye$^{43}_{\zeta}$
will-want,dir. pronoun which want-it,dir. stomach-my

yhwi$^{32}_{\zeta}$ nu^3 ngiyo$^{32}_{\zeta}$ te?e$^1_{\zeta}$?wo$^3_{\zeta}$
QT]
said which coming,dir. will-be-staying to-you-pl.
"You will want what my heart wants" said the one who is coming to fetch you.

Cond:P_4 nu^3 ku?tsi^2 ?i$^3_{\zeta}$ 'the-particular yellow pronoun' (...the yellow one among them); Cond:$P_{11\cdot2}$ ha^4 lo?o^1 mokino$^4_{\zeta}$?ba^3 'negation with machine to-we-exclusive' (...without our machine).

The condition tagmeme occurs only in S_{14}.

9.3.13. Balance. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, S_{14}, S_{21}, S_{22}, S_{23}, or S_{32}. The manifestation of this tagmeme determines subtype (ix) of S_{15}.

Bal:C_1 kuta^{32} libru^{34} nu^3 kwa^3 ʔi̱^{2} ʔyo̱^{21} 'will-give-you book the-particular there pronoun to-me' (You give that book of yours to me.); Bal:C_2 ndiya^{21} tuʔwa^3 tšku^1 bra^3 ko̱ʔ^2 'is-belonging mouth river then' (He arrived on the bank of the river then.); Bal:C_3 ʔni^3 tsuʔwe^{32} lka^4 ko̱ʔ^2 'animal good is that-particular' (That one is a good animal.); Bal:C_4 wa^2 ngudyi^1 ska^3 libru^{34} ʔyo̱^{21} ni^2 'completion finished, dir. one book to-me now' (I have finished one of my books now.); Bal:C_5 tlyaʔ^2 ʔa^1 šа^2 ngudiyo̱^{32} o̱^{2} 'cold very light returned we-inclusive' (It was very cold when we came.); Bal:C_{11} nde^3 štya^{32} kye^2 'here will-put-you, dir. head-your' (Put your head here.);

(a) ndška^{32} ti̱ʔ^{43} ku̱ʔu̱^{32} ska^3 ndyukwa^{43} ti^2
Bal = K_4 [Pred Dev]
want-I, dir. will-drink-I one meaning-uncertain only

ti ʔa^3

water

I want to drink just a tiny little bit of water.

(b) wa^2 ngitso̱ʔ^{43} ʔi̱^{2} wa^2 ykwi̱ʔ^1 loʔo^2
Bal = K_{11} [Ax Elb]
completion telling-I pronoun completion said-I with-you

I've told you and told you.

(c) nde^3 tiʔo̱^{32} kyeʔ^{32} no̱^{2} ku^{32}
Bal = K_{12} [Sit Res]
here will-adjoin-you, dir. will-cook-you thing will-eat

o̱^{2} ni^2

we-inclusive now

You stay here now and cook our meal for us.

(d) si^1 ʔa^4 la^2 kilo^2 laha ʔ^1 bra^3 ko̱ʔ^2
Bal = S_{14} [CnHi Cond Inj]
if negation fierce eye-his sleeping-he then

If his eyes don't look dangerous, then he's sleeping.

(e) ko̱ʔ^{2} ndukwa^{1} yu^{3} ko̱ʔ^{2}
Bal = S_{21} [ER Comt: K_{11} <Ax
that's-the-one is-on man that-particular

nu̱ʔu̱^{1} ti^{1} yu^{3} bra^{3} ko̱ʔ^{2}
Elb>]
with-me ten man then
There where those men are sitting, those ten men who are with me.

(f) se̱ʔe̱^{3} ta^{3} ndiya^{21} kasiyu̱^{4}
Bal = S_{22} [Prop: P_{1} AR Alt: S_{11} <Set
place or-interrogative is-belonging occasion

tš̌aʔ^{2} ku^{43} yu^{2} nde^{3} ʔyo̱^{32}
PHi Pur>]
in-order-that will-eat man this to-me
Is there a place or opportunity for this man (alligator) to eat me?

(g) ni^{3} tš̌aʔ^{32} la^{2} ʔa^{1} ngiyo̱^{32}
Bal = S_{23} [Itg IS]
what thing fierce very coming-you, dir.
Why are you coming here so cross?

(h) tsuʔwe^{32} lye^{32} yhwi̱^{32} neʔ^{3} ngwa^{4} tyi^{2}
Bal = S_{32} [Quot QT]
good very said person was, dir. own
"All right" said the inhabitant there.

The balance tagmeme occurs only in S_{15}.

9.3.14. Balance Hinge. This tagmeme is manifested by the particles lo^{2} 'and' from subclass $W_{14\cdot 2}$ or loʔo^{1} 'with' from subclass $W_{14\cdot 1}$, and acts as the hinge on which the balanced relationship between the balance and the balanced tagmemes depends in S_{15}. The balance hinge tagmeme occurs only in S_{15}.

9.3.15. Balanced. This tagmeme is manifested by C_{1},

C_2, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_{11}, S_2, S_{11}, S_{14}, or S_{21}. Certain manifestations of this tagmeme determine subtypes (i) - (ix) of S_{15}.

Bald:C_1 ndšga^3 ndi?o^{32} ti?a^3 ša^2 ngiti?^{1} ti?^{32} 'every drinking water light thirsty-he' (Everyone drinks water when he is thirsty.); Bald:C_2 no^2 kwinyi^3 ?i^1 yu^3 mdiya^{21} bra^3 ko?^{2} 'thing fertile to man was-belonging then' (The man's animal was there then.); Bald:C_4 ha^4 ya?^{1} tyi^1 libru^{34} ?i^2 'negation time will-finish,dir. book pronoun' (You have not yet finished your book.); Bald:C_5 ngate^{23} kyo^3 'white rain' (Rain is white.); Bald:C_{11} kwi?^{1} tyu^3 yu^3 tšu?^{23} nu^3 ha^4 kwilyo?o^2 ?a^3 bra^3 ko?^{2} 'same will-stand,dir. man behind which negation spouse more then' (In the same way the single men will stand at the back.);

(a) ha^4 ndška^{32} tyi^1 nguso?o^1 kitu?^{3}
Bald = K_2 [Act:K_4 <Pred Dev> Inst:C_1]
negation is,dir. will-finish-it,dir. filled pot
The pot is filled so it won't be finished (what is in the bottle).

(b) ndyo?o^{32} kuno^1 ku^{32} ?wo^3
Bald = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging,dir. snake will-eat to-you-pl.
The snake will be caused to come out and eat you all.

(c) ykwi?^{32} mdo?o^1 tnyo^{32} ?i^2 tsa^{43}
Bald = K_4 [Pred:C_1 Dev:K_3 <Ant Cons>]
spoke-he emerged work pronoun will-go-you
He told you to leave your work and go.

(d) ni^2 ha^4 ndu?u^{32} ?a^3 snye?^{32} ?i^2
Bald = K_{11} [Ax:S_1 <J Epn>
now negation conceiving more child-of pronoun

ha^4 ndška^{43} ?a^3 ku?u^{32} snye?^{32}
Elb:K_4 <Pred Dev>]
negation is-being,dir. more will-conceive-she child-of

ʔi̱^{2}

pronoun

Now she isn't producing any more children (calves), she is unable to produce more.

(e) ʔni^{3} nu^{3} no̱^{2} sne̱^{12} tšẽ̱^{2} nyo̱ʔo̱^{43}
Bald = $S_{2 \cdot 1}$ [Sub_{1} Exn]
animal which name toad bad looking, dir.

ko̱ʔ^{2} šaʔ^{3} nyo̱ʔo̱^{43} ko̱ʔ^{2}

that-particular different looking, dir. that-particular

tšẽ̱^{2} nyo̱ʔo̱^{43} ko̱ʔ^{2}

bad looking, dir. that-particular
The animal called Toad has a bad and different appearance.

(f) ha^{4} lka^{4} tša̱ʔ^{32} tšaʔ^{2} kyo̱^{32}
Bald = S_{11} [Set PHi Pur]
negation is thing in-order-that will-come-you, dir.

tso̱^{23} ni^{2}

day now
There is no reason for you to come here today.

(g) si^{1} kwityi̱ʔ^{32} kilo^{2} ʔi̱^{3} ʔa^{4} ndi̱ʔi̱^{23} tiʔ^{32}
Bald = S_{14} [CnHi Cond Inj]
if blind eye-of pronoun negation feel-he

bra^{3} ko̱ʔ^{2}

then
If his eyes are shut, he is not aware of you then.

(h) tšu̱ʔ^{23} tšku^{1} ko̱ʔ^{2} ndiya^{21} kontra^{4} ʔi̱^{1}
Bald = S_{21} [Top ER Comt]
back-of river that's-the-one is-belonging against to

reyi^{4} bra^{3} kǫ?^{2}

king then

On the other side of the river, that's where the enemies of the king are.

The balanced tagmeme occurs only in S_{15}.

9.4. Each of the symbiotic sentence types of class S_{20} are composed of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, except S_{23}, which consists of one obligatory and one optional nuclear tagmeme; in addition, S_{21} and S_{22} each have an optional nuclear tagmeme.

9.4.1. Topic. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, P_2, C_1, C_2, C_5, C_{11}, K_1, K_2, K_3, K_{11}, S_2, or S_{32}. Its function is similar to that of the substance tagmeme in S_2.

Top:$P_{1.3}$ ntę^{34} nu^{3} kų?ų^{3} 'people which mute' (mutes); Top:P_2 kunǫ?^{1} wta^{34} 'meat cow' (beef); Top:C_1 ndo?o^{32} nu^{3} šni?^{3} ndaha^{2} 'emerging the-particular dog lazy' (The lazy dog was coming out.); Top:C_2 bitriyu^{4} ndukwa^{32} tu^{3} ku?^{12} yka^{3} lambre^{4} 'glass is-on tip wood wire' (the glass insulator on the top of the telegraph pole); Top:C_5 kwi?^{1} nu^{3} ndaha^{2} 'same the-particular lazy' (the very same lazy person); Top:C_{11} šnǫ^{32} lo?o^{1} yu^{3} nu^{3} kwǫ?ǫ^{1} 'will-run, dir. with man the-particular female' (The woman is going to run away with the man.);

(a) ne?^{3} ša?^{3} ndukwa^{43} hwinka^{4} ki?ya^{23}

Top = K_1 [Sta:K_4 <Dev

person different is-on coffee-ranch mountain

kitų?^{3} lka^{4} ne?^{3} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} ndukwa^{43}

Pred> Sta:K_4 <Dev

cooking-pot is person person different is-on

hwinka^{4} ki?ya^{23} kitu$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{3} lka^{4} ne?^{3}
Pred>]
coffee-ranch mountain cooking-pot is person
He is the Mexican who has Cooking-Pot Coffee Ranch.

(b) ?ni^{3} tšku^{1} tšku^{1} ya^{43} ba^{3} yhwi^{32} ?i$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{2}
Top = K_2 [Act:K_3 <Ant Cons>
animal spring spring went we-exclusive killed pronoun

?ba^{3} ?ni^{3} ndšku^{1} nte$_{\text{ɛ}}$^{34} lka^{4} ?i$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{2}
Inst:C_3]
to-we-exclusive animal eating people is pronoun
It is a spring animal and we went to the spring and killed it for ourselves because it is an animal that people eat.

(c) ndo?o^{32} ne?^{2} ?ya^{1} ne?^{3} ?aymo$_{\text{ɛ}}$^{4}
Top = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging person carrying person dead-person/spirit
He went out carrying the dead person.

(d) ko$_{\text{ɛ}}$?^{2} nda^{43} ne?^{3} nda^{32}
Top = K_{11} [Ax:S_{21} <ER Comt> Elb:K_4 <Pred:C_1
that's-the-one giving person giving

ngusu?wa^{43} nkye?^{23} ti^{3} kalu^{4}
Dev:K_2 (Act Inst)>]
put cooking only soup
That's what they gave having put it cooked in the soup.

(e) loga^{4} se$_{\text{ɛ}}$?e$_{\text{ɛ}}$^{3} nu^{3} ndškwi?^{32} ne?^{2} lo?o^{1} laha^{32} yu^{2}
Top = $S_{2.2}$ [Sub_2:P_6
place place which speaking person with empty earth

tšku^{1} kwityi?^{32} ndškwi?^{32} ne?^{2}
Exn:C_1]
spring frog speaking person
The place which people say is inhabited, which they call Frog Spring.

(f) ndiya^{21} yhwi$^{1}_{\varsigma}$
Top = S_{32} [Quot QT]
is-belonging said-he
"There is some" he said.

The topic tagmeme occurs only in S_{21}.

9.4.2. Emphatic Reference. This tagmeme is manifested by the relator ko$^{2}_{\varsigma}$ 'that's-the-one-emphatic' from subclass $W_{14\cdot3}$ which is an emphatic referent, referring to the topic tagmeme or to a topic included in the preceding context and linking it emphatically to the following comment tagmeme. The emphatic reference tagmeme occurs only in S_{21}.

9.4.3. Comment. This tagmeme is manifested by P_6, C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{21}, K_4, K_{12}, or s_{01}. It is the manifestations of this tagmeme which determine the co-occurrence subtypes of S_{21}.

Comt:P_6 wta^{34} ngi?ni^{1} kwinyi^{3} wta^{34} nu^{3} tsu?we^{32} 'cow making fertile cow which good' (A fertile cow is a good cow.); Comt:C_1 kuno$^{?1}_{\varsigma}$ nu^{3} tsu?we^{32} nsu?wa^{32} ne?^{2} tehe?^{2} 'meat which good putting person salt' (People rub salt into the good meat.); Comt:C_2 ndiya^{21} se?e$^{3}_{\varsigma}$ su^{32} ska^{3} tškwo$^{43}_{\varsigma}$ yka^{3} 'is-belonging place lying one metal wood' (There is the place where an axe is lying.); Comt:C_3 no$^{2}_{\varsigma}$ lka^{4} šiyo$^{23}_{\varsigma}$ hruta^{4} 'thing is flavouring fruit' (The thing is a flavouring for fruit.); Comt:C_4 kalu^{4} yku^{32} lomsa^{34} nte$^{34}_{\varsigma}$ 'soup ate breakfast-of people' (They ate soup for their breakfast.); Comt:C_{11} ngwi?ya^{1} ša^{3} bra^{3} ko$^{2}_{\varsigma}$ 'descended, dir. light then' (Day dawned then.); Comt:C_{12} ndyukwa^{32} ?i$^{1}_{\varsigma}$?aymo$^{4}_{\varsigma}$ šiya?^{2} bra^{3} ko$^{2}_{\varsigma}$ 'is-on-he, dir. to spirit again then' (He sat on the spirit's back again then.); Comt:C_{21} yhwi$^{32}_{\varsigma}$ ne?^{2} ngwa^{4} tyi^{2} 'said person was own' (said the inhabitant there);

(a) ngite?^{1} ti?^{32} ne?^{2} ku^{32} lomsa^{34} ne?^{3}
Comt = K_4 [Pred Dev]
is-hungry person will-eat breakfast-of person
He is hungry for his breakfast.

(b) ngusi?ya^{1} ne?^{3} ?i$^{1}_{\subset}$ kwilyo?o^{2} ne?^{3}
Comt = K_{12} [Sit
called person to spouse-of person

ngiyo$^{43}_{\subset}$ bra^{3} ko$^{2}_{\subset}$
Res]
coming-she, dir. then
He called to his wife and she came then.

(c) nu^{3} nduhwi?^{32} kwiyu^{34} ?i$^{1}_{\subset}$ ne?^{3} tš̆a?^{2}
Comt = s_{01} [Itr Term: S_{11} <Set PHi
which selling mule to person in-order-that

ndihi^{32} tnyi^{34} ?i$^{2}_{\subset}$
Pur>]
gaining money pronoun
...who sell people's mules to get money for themselves

The comment tagmeme occurs only in S_{21}.

9.4.4. Proposition. This tagmeme is manifested by P_1, p_{04}, C_1, K_3, S_2, or S_{23}.

Prop: P_1 no$^{2}_{\subset}$ s?no$^{2}_{\subset}$ 'thing scarce' (something rare); Prop: p_{04} ha^{4} tukwi$^{2}_{\subset}$?a^{3} 'nobody more' (no one else); Prop: C_1 ngule?e^{32} ?i$^{2}_{\subset}$ 'licked pronoun' (It licked it.);

(a) tsa?o$^{32}_{\subset}$ tsa^{43} no$^{}_{\subset}$?o$^{43}_{\subset}$
Prop = K_3 [Ant Cons]
will-go-I will-go seeing-I
(I will go and see.)

(b) no$^{2}_{\subset}$ ngusi?i^{32} kuwe?^{32} kune?^{1} ?i$^{1}_{\subset}$ ne?^{3}
Prop = S_2 [Sub Exn]
thing bought-he pig young to person
The thing he bought was someone's young pig.

(c) ni^{3} tšaʔ^{32} ngusnyi^{32}
Prop = S_{23} [Itg IS]
what thing took-you
Why did you take? . . .

The proposition tagmeme occurs only in S_{22}.

9.4.5. Alternative Reference. This tagmeme is manifested by the relator ta^{3} 'or-interrogative' from subclass $W_{14.3}$ which is an alternative referent referring to the proposition tagmeme or to a proposition included in the preceding context and linking it interrogatively (and sometimes giving what follows a negative implication) to the following alternate tagmeme. The alternative reference tagmeme occurs only in S_{22}.

9.4.6. Alternate. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, K_4, S_{11}, S_{14}, S_{15}, or S_{24}. It is certain manifestations of this tagmeme that determine four of the five co-occurrence subtypes of S_{22}. The remaining manifestations occur only in the absence of the proposition tagmeme and are therefore alternatives to propositions found in the preceding context.

Alt:C_1 ʔa^{4} kya^{32} loʔo^{1} wo^{3} 'negation will-go-he with you-pl./respectful' (He will not go with you?); Alt:C_3 ʔa^{4} tyʔe^{3} yka^{4} kitye^{32} ndukwa^{43} kwa^{2} 'negation resinous wood pitch-pine is-on there' (The pitch pine standing over there isn't resinous?); Alt:C_5 tšanyi^{2} 'is-true'; Alt:C_{11} ndška^{32} tiʔ^{32} tiyeta^{4} 'want-you, dir. shop' (You want a shop?); Alt:C_{12} tyuʔwi^{1} lyo^{3} ʔi^{1} o^{3} 'there-will-be, dir. knowledge to them' (. . . you recognise them?);

(a) noʔ^{2} noʔoʔ^{43} ndu^{1} skyeʔ^{3} tiʔ^{32}
Alt = K_4 [Dev:K_4 <Pred Dev> Pred:C_1]
I seeing-I standing-you think-you
You will think I see you standing.

(b) ndiya^{21} ska^{3} kyha^{3} ?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ kuta^{32} ku^{32}
Alt = S_{11} [Set: K_{12} <Sit: C_2 Res: K_{12} (Sit Res)>
is-belonging one tortilla pronoun will-give-you will-eat

o$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ tš̆a?^{2} tyi?i$^{43}_{\downarrow}$ o$^{3}_{\downarrow}$
PHi Pur: C_{12}]
we-inclusive in-order-that will-live, dir. we-inclusive
Do you have a tortilla to give us to eat so that we will not starve?

(c) ko?o^{32} si^{1} tsa^{43} ?yo$^{43}_{\downarrow}$
Alt = S_{14} [Inj CnHi Cond]
will-drink-you if will-go will-carry-I
You will drink it if I go and fetch it.

(d) no$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ ndiya^{21} nde^{3} lo^{2} si?i^{1} no$^{2}_{\downarrow}$?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$ lka^{4}
Alt = S_{15} [Bal: C_2 BHi Bald: K_4 <Dev Pred>]
thing is-belonging here and is-not thing pronoun is
The thing that is here and not something of yours?

(e) su?wa^{1} ka^{4} ti?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$?a^{4}
Alt = S_{24} [QSt qmr]
same will-be-it heavy question-indicator
Will it be the same weight?

The alternate tagmeme occurs only in S_{22}.

9.4.7. Interrogation. This tagmeme is manifested by P_{34} or the particles ni^{3} 'what?' and ti^{3} 'who?' from subclass $W_{14.4}$. As this is the only obligatory tagmeme in S_{23} it comprises the complete inquiry when occurring alone. ni^{3} tš̆a?^{32} 'what thing?' (why?), la^{3} ya^{3} 'where (direction)?', lo^{3} ya^{3} 'where (location)?', ni^{3} ngwa?^{43} 'when?'. The following manifestations of this tagmeme occur only when the inquiry statement tagmeme is also manifested: ti^{3} 'who?', ni^{3} 'what?' (except for the combinations of ni^{3} in P_{34} listed above). The interrogation tagmeme occurs only in S_{23}.

9.4.8. Inquiry Statement. This tagmeme is manifested

by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_1, K_2, K_3, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, K_{13}, or by the nuclear forms of S_{11}, or S_{15}.

IS:C_1 lye^{32} sa?a^{1} ndo?o^{1} tškwo^{43} 'much very walking metal' (The bell is ringing a lot.); IS:C_2 ndi?i^{23} ne?^{2} ni^{3} 'is-living person now' (They are there now.); IS:C_3 nte^{34} lka^{4} 'people is' (They are people.); IS:C_4 ndšku^{1} tlya^{32} wo^{3} 'eating dinner-of you-pl./respectful' (You are eating your dinner.); IS:C_5 tsu?we^{32} la^{2} 'good more' (That is better.); IS:C_{11} la^{2} ?a^{1} ngiyo^{32} 'fierce very coming-you, dir.' (You are coming when you are very cross.); IS:C_{12} tyukwa^{43} ne?^{2} kwiyu^{34} ?i^{3} 'will-be-on, dir. person mule pronoun' (He will be riding your mule.); IS:C_{13} ngwa^{1} kwi?i^{3} ?i^{3} 'was, dir. wind pronoun' (The wind was blowing it.);

(a) ndi?i^{23} nu^{3} kwo?o^{1} ndi?i^{23} nu^{3}
IS = K_1 [Sta Sta]
is-living the-particular female is-living the-particular

ki?yu^{1}

male

The woman is in and the man is in.

(b) tnyo^{32} ndukwa^{32} ?i^{2} ?ni^{43} nde^{2}
IS = K_2 [Act Inst]
work is-on pronoun making here
You are sitting here doing work.

(c) ndo?o^{32} ne?^{3} ngiya^{1} ne?^{3}
IS = K_3 [Ant Cons]
emerging they going they
They went out and away.

(d) kite?^{1} ti?^{32} wo^{3}
IS = K_4 [Pred
will-be-hungry you-pl./respectful

ku^{32} kyha^{3} ʔwo̱^{3}
Dev]
will-eat tortilla to-you-pl./respectful
You will be hungry to eat your meal.

(e) ndukwa^{1} yu^{3} yku^{2} yu^{3} kyha^{3}
IS = K_{11} [Ax Elb]
were-on man ate man tortilla
The men were here and ate their meal.

(f) kila^{43} neʔ^{2} kuʔni^{1} tnyo̱^{32} šiyaʔ^{1}
IS = K_{12} [Sit Res]
will-arrive person will-make work again
They will arrive and do it again.

(g) mskoʔ^{1} tukwi^{1} neʔ^{3} ʔi̱^{2}
IS = K_{13} [Init
tied will-be-up person pronoun

tukwa^{32} neʔ^{3} ti^{1} yni^{2}
Seq]
will-be-on person rope neck-it
They tied it up and put a rope round its neck.

(h) ndoʔo̱^{1} tškwo̱^{43} tša^{2} nsuʔwa^{43} nu^{2} tsa^{43}
IS = S_{11} [Set PHi Pur]
walking metal in-order-that putting which will-go

no̱^{1} ʔi̱^{2}

looking-for pronoun
The bell was ringing in order to send out those who were to look for them.

(i) ngiya^{1} neʔ^{3} lo^{2} ngyo̱^{43} neʔ^{2}
IS = S_{15} [Bal BHi Bald]
going person and coming person
They are coming and going.

The inquiry statement tagmeme occurs only in S_{23}.

9.4.9. Question Statement. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, K_4, K_{12}, S_{11}, or S_{22}.

QSt:C_1 ha^4 tukwi$^2_{\text{ɛ}}$ ngudihi$^{32}_{\text{ɛ}}$ nde^3 'nobody passed here' (No one passed by here.); QSt:C_2 ndiya^{21} to$^2_{\text{ɛ}}$?i$^3_{\text{ɛ}}$ 'is-belonging lard pronoun' (You have some ointment.); QSt:C_3 su?wa^1 ka^4 ti?i$^2_{\text{ɛ}}$ 'same will-be-it heavy' (It will be the same weight.); QSt:C_5 ha^4 tsu?we^{32} 'negation good' (It is not good.); QSt:C_{11} šši?ya^1 ni^2 'will-shout-you,dir. now' (You will be caused to shout now.);

(a) no$^2_{\text{ɛ}}$ msi?yo$^{32}_{\text{ɛ}}$?i$^2_{\text{ɛ}}$ skye?^{1} ti?^{32}
QSt = K_4 [Dev Pred]
I called-I pronoun will-think-you
You will think that I called you.

(b) kuta^{32} kwi?yo$^{43}_{\text{ɛ}}$ ni^2
QSt = K_{12} [Sit Res]
will-give-you will-carry-I now
You give it to me and I will carry it.

(c) wa^2 no$^2_{\text{ɛ}}$o$^{43}_{\text{ɛ}}$ tšša?^{2}
QSt = S_{11} [Set PHi
completion seeing-I to-the-effect-that

kyo$^{43}_{\text{ɛ}}$ lo?o^1 ?i$^1_{\text{ɛ}}$ yu^3
Pur]
will-come-I,dir. with-you to man
I saw that I am to come with you to the man.

(d) ta^3 no$^2_{\text{ɛ}}$ lko$^{43}_{\text{ɛ}}$ nskye?^{32} ti?^{32}
QSt = S_{22} [AR Alt:K_4 <Dev Pred>]
or-interrogative I am-I thinking-you
Or do you think it is I?

The question statement tagmeme occurs only in S_{24}.

9.4.10. Question Marker. This tagmeme is manifested by the minor word ?a^4 ~ a^4 'question-indicator' from subclass $w_{03\cdot4}$. The question marker tagmeme occurs only in S_{24}.

9.5. In the quotational sentence class S_{30}, S_{32} consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, but S_{31} is unique in that it consists only of three optional nuclear tagmemes and no obligatory tagmemes.

9.5.1. Subject Addressed. This tagmeme is manifested by P_5, a personal name from subclass $W_{2.1}$, or a vocative term from subclass $W_{2.2}$ excluding bi^3 'You'. SAd:P_5 tš̆e^{32} buru^2 'Friend Donkey', tš̆o?^{32} 'Friend' (between women); SAd:$W_{2.1}$ ndiyu̯^{32} 'Antonio'; SAd:$W_{2.2}$ ti^{32} 'small boy' (within the consanguineal group). The subject addressed tagmeme occurs only in S_{31}.

9.5.2. Address. This tagmeme is manifested by any phrase type except P_5 and p_{01}, any clause type except the minor clauses c_{01}, c_{02}, and c_{03}, any colon type, any sentence type except S_{31}, any peripheral tagmeme from the clause or sentence level, or by an onomatopoetic word.[28] Greater variety is found in the manifestations of this tagmeme than in any other analysed in the syntax of Chatino. The address tagmeme occurs only in S_{31}.

9.5.3. Vocative Address. This tagmeme is manifested by P_5, or nouns from subclasses $W_{2.1}$ or $W_{2.2}$. VAd:P_5 no̯^{32} š̆u?^{2} 'Mother aged' (Grandmother); VAd:$W_{2.1}$ liya^4 'Maria'; VAd:$W_{2.2}$ snye̯?^{43} 'child-my' (my child [used by parents and godparents]), bi^3 'You-emphatic'. The vocative address tagmeme occurs only in S_{31}.

9.5.4. Quotation. This tagmeme is manifested by S_{31}. A minimum example of Quot: tsu?we^{32} 'good'.

A complex example of Quot:S_{31} [Ads:S_{15}]

[28] See footnote 27

se?e^{3} ta^{3} ndiya^{21} kasiyu^{4}
Quot = S_{15} [Bal:S_{22} <Prop:P_1 AR Alt:S_{11} (Set:C_2
place or-interrogative is-belonging occasion

tša?^{2} ku^{43} yu^{2} nde^{3} ?yo^{21} lo^{2} ku?ni^{1}
PHi Pur:C_1)> BHi Bald:S_{11} <Set:C_1
in-order-that will-eat man here to-me and will-make-you

tša?^{32} tsu?we^{32} tša?^{2} kya^{32} nu?u^{2} ?i^{1} yu^{3}
thi PHi Pur:C_{11}>]
thing good to-the-effect-that will-go with-me to man
Is there a place or is there opportunity for this man (alligator) to eat me, and would you please go with me to him?

The quotation tagmeme occurs only in S_{32}.

9.5.5. Quotation Termination. This tagmeme is manifested by C_{21}, K_1, or K_{11}.

QT:C_{21} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kuno^{1} tnu^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} kwa^{3} 'said the-particular snake great to person there' (the great snake said to them...); QT:C_{21} ?ni^{3} nu^{3} luwe^{2} ti^{3} ?i^{1} yu^{3} ša?^{3} bra^{3} ko?^{2} 'making the-particular small only to man different then' (the child said to the gentleman then...);

(a) yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwo?o^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3}
QT = K_1 [Sta
said the-particular female cook to person

ša?^{3} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwo?o^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1}
Sta]
different said the-particular female cook to

patru^{4} ?i^{3}

master pronoun
the woman who was cook said to the Mexican her master

(b) yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwo?o^{1} yhwi^{32} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3}
QT = K_{11} [Ax Elb]
said the-particular female said cook to person
said the woman who was cook to him

The quotation termination tagmeme occurs only in S_{32}.

9.6. As the relative minor sentence is the unique member of class s_{00}, its two obligatory nuclear tagmemes are the only ones to be described in this subsection.

9.6.1. Introducer. This tagmeme is manifested by relative-interrogative particles from subclass $W_{14 \cdot 4}$: ni^3 'what', ti^3 'who', lo^3 'where?', la^3 'where (direction)'; or by the minor word nu^3 'which/who' from subclass $w_{02 \cdot 2}$. The introducer tagmeme occurs only in s_{01}.

9.6.2. Terminator. This tagmeme is manifested by C_1, C_2, C_3, C_5, C_{11}, C_{12}, C_{13}, K_1, K_4, K_{11}, K_{12}, or S_{11} in data analysed to date.

Term: C_1 $tu?kwi_{\text{ç}}^{21}$ tsa^{43} $ne?^2$ kwa^3 'road will-go person there' (...the road will they go by?); Term: C_2 $ndukwa^{43}$ nu^2 $kwit\check{s}i^3$ 'is-on the-particular rabbit' (...the rabbit is sitting); Term: C_3 $no_{\text{ç}}^2$ lka^4 'thing is' (...thing it is); Term: C_5 $\check{s}e_{\text{ç}}^{32}$ la^2 'wide more' (It is wider.); Term: C_{11} wa^2 $ndyi^1$ $s?ni^3$ 'completion finishing, dir. distant' (was finished completely); Term: C_{12} $ndyukwa^{32}$ lo^3 yka^2 'is-on, dir. on wood' (is sitting on the wood); Term: C_{13} $tyi?i^3$ $nd\check{s}ka^{23}$ $no_{\text{ç}}^2$ 'smell is, dir. thing' (...the smell a thing has);

(a)	wa^2	$nguhwi^{32}$	$y?o_{\text{ç}}^1$	wa^2	$nguhwi^{32}$	
Term =	K_1 [Sta			Sta]		
	completion	died	mother-his	completion	died	
	sti^2					
	father-his					
	His mother and father died.					

(b)	$nd\check{s}ka^{43}$	$ti?^{32}$	$wo_{\text{ç}}^3$	$hyo_{\text{ç}}^{32}$	$wo_{\text{ç}}^3$ nde^3
Term =	K_4 [Pred			Dev]	
	wanting, dir.	you-pl.	will-return	you	here
	You want to return here.				

(c) ngi?ni^{1} yu^{3} ku?nǫ^{34} nsi?yu^{1} yka^{3} tnų^{3}
Term = K_{11} [Ax Elb]
making man slashing cutting-he tree great
The man is chopping down a great tree.

(d) ku?ni^{32} ku?u^{1} kuwi?^{32} ?į^{1} ne?^{3}
Term = K_{12} [Sit Res]
will-make-he will-live baby to person
He will do something so that their baby will live.

(e) nduhwi?^{32} wta^{34} ?į^{1} ne?^{3} tš̃a?^{2}
Term = S_{11} [Set PHi
selling-he cow to person in-order-that

ndihi^{1} tnyi^{34} ?į^{2}
Pur]
gaining-he money pronoun
He sells (other) people's cattle (stolen) in order to gain money.

The terminator tagmeme occurs only in s_{01}.

10. Analysed Text

The following text was related by Vicente, a native Chatino of Yaitepec who is a respected elderly member of the community. He reported this as historical fact.

In the following text sentences are numbered and paragraphs are indicated by indentation. The word by word translation is in single quotation marks and follows each sentence. A free translation of the whole text is given in 10.2. The detailed analysis in 10.3 proceeds sentence by sentence in chart form. Word classes, phrase, clause, colon, and sentence types are indicated, and the various levels of structural layering. These charts demonstrate how even the highest level unit, the sentence, may on occasion manifest a phrase-level tagmeme, and conversely how even a single word may manifest a sentence-level tagmeme.

10.1. A Chatino text.

(1) tškwi̱ʔ^{1} no̱^{2} nu^{3} nkwa^{4} ʔi̱^{1} ska^{3} nte̱^{34} 'will-say-I thing which was to one person' (2) loga^{4} kwiʔ^{1} ti^{3} tsa^{43} lka^{4} loga^{4} 'place same only will-go is place' (3) loga^{4} se̱ʔe̱^{3} ndi̱ʔi̱^{1} nte̱^{34} nu^{3} ndi̱ʔi̱^{1} loga^{4} tsa^{43} lka^{4} kwiʔ^{1} ti^{2} nde^{3} 'place place is-living people which is-living place will-go is same only here' (4) hlyo^{2} tiʔ^{32} neʔ^{2} ndšku^{1} neʔ^{3} ʔni^{3} nu^{3} ndškwiʔ^{32} neʔ^{2} loʔo^{1} kwityiʔ^{32} 'know person eating person animal which speaking person with frog' (5) ʔni^{3} nu^{3} no̱^{2} kwityiʔ^{32} ʔi̱^{2} tšku^{1} ndyukwa^{32} ko̱ʔ^{2} 'animal which name frog pronoun spring is-on, dir. that-particular' (6) tšku^{1} ndyo̱ʔo̱^{32} no̱^{1} neʔ^{3} ko̱ʔ^{2} 'spring walking, dir. look-for person that-particular' (7) tla^{4} ndyo̱ʔo̱^{32} neʔ^{2} tšku^{1} ndihi^{32} ko̱ʔ^{2} ʔi̱^{1} neʔ^{3} nšnyi^{32} neʔ^{2} ko̱ʔ^{2} 'night walking, dir. person spring gaining that-particular to person grabbing, dir. person that-particular' (8) ʔni^{3} tsuʔwe^{32}

lka^{4} kǫ?^{2} 'animal good is that-particular' (9) ndšku^{1} ne?^{3} ?i^{2} ndšku^{32} tsu?we^{32} ndšku^{32} kǫ?^{2} 'eating person pronoun eating good eating that-particular' (10) ?ni^{3} šu?^{4} lka^{4} kǫ?^{2} ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} kǫ?^{2} 'animal tasty is that-particular animal good is that-particular' (11) kalu^{4} ndška^{43} kǫ?^{2} ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} kǫ?^{2} 'soup is,dir. that-particular animal good is that-particular' (12) lye^{32} ?a^{1} ndšku^{1} nte^{34} kǫ?^{2} ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} kǫ?^{2} 'much very eating people that-particular animal good is that-particular' (13) lo^{2} ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} kǫ?^{2} ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} nkye?^{23} kǫ?^{2} ?i^{1} nte^{34} 'and is-belonging soup that-particular is-belonging soup cooking that-particular to people' (14) ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} nkye?^{23} kǫ?^{2} ?i^{1} nte^{34} kǫ?^{2} kalu^{4} yku^{32} lomsa^{34} nte^{34} 'is-belonging soup cooking that-particular to people that-particular soup ate breakfast-of people' (15) kalu^{4} kwityi?^{32} kǫ?^{2} yku^{32} lomsa^{34} nte^{34} 'soup frog that's-the-one ate breakfast-of people' (16) ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} kǫ?^{2} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} 'is-belonging soup that-particular to person.

(17) kǫ?^{2} ngudihi^{32} ska^{3} ne?^{3} ska^{3} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} ndukwa^{43} ne?^{2} kwiyu^{34} 'that's-the-one passed one person one person different is-on person mule' (18) ngite?^{1} ti?^{32} ne?^{2} ku^{12} ne?^{3} kyha^{3} ngite?^{1} ti?^{32} ne?^{2} ku^{32} lomsa^{34} ne?^{3} 'is-hungry person will-eat person tortilla is-hungry person will-eat breakfast-of person' (19) ngudihi^{32} ne?^{3} se?e^{3} ngo?o^{32} ska^{3} nte^{34} nu^{3} ne?^{3} to^{2} 'passed person place is-adjoining one people the-particular person lard'[29] (20) loga^{4} se?e^{3} nu^{3} ndškwi?^{32} ne?^{2} lo?o^{1} laha^{32} yu^{2} tšku^{1} kwityi?^{32} ndškwi?^{32} ne?^{2} kǫ?^{2} lka^{4} ngudihi^{32} ne?^{2} 'place place which speaking person with empty ground spring frog speaking person that's-the-one is passed person' (21) ne?^{3} ša?^{3}

[29] ne?^{3} to^{2} 'person lard' is used to refer to a mestizo rather than a Chatino. Lard is an expensive commodity only used by richer families for cooking except on special occasions. Are mestizos considered to be those rich enough to use lard perhaps? yka^{3} to^{2} 'tree lard' (oak) would not seem to fit this explanation however. ne?^{3} ša?^{3} 'person different' (mestizo) refers to an unknown mestizo.

ndukwa^{43} kwiyu^{34} kǫ?^{2} ngite?^{1} ti?^{32} ne?^{2} ku^{32} lomsa^{34} ne?^{3} 'person different is-on mule that-particular is-hungry person will-eat breakfast-of person' (22) ?a^{4} ska^{2} nǫ^{2} ndiya^{21} ?i^{3} kuhwi?^{32} ka^{4} lomsa^{34} ?yǫ^{21} yhwi^{1} '—negative one thing is-belonging pronoun will-sell-you will-be breakfast-of to-me —said he' (23) ndiya^{21} yhwi^{1} kǫ?^{2} yhwi^{32} ne?^{2} ngwa^{4} tyi^{2} '—is-belonging —said-he that's-the-one said person was, dir. own' (24) ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} yhwi^{32} ne?^{2} '—is-belonging soup —said person' (25) ?ni^{3} nu^{3} ndškwi?^{32} ne?^{2} lo?o^{1} kwityi?^{32} kǫ?^{2} kalu^{4} ndiya^{21} ?ba^{3} '—animal which speaking person with frog that's-the-one soup is-belonging to-we-exclusive' (26) ?ni^{3} luwe^{2} ti^{3} lka^{4} ?i^{2} 'animal small only is pronoun' (27) ndšku^{32} ntę^{34} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} šu?^{4} ?ni^{3} lka^{4} ?i^{2} 'eating people to pronoun tasty animal is pronoun' (28) ?ni^{3} tšku^{1} tšku^{1} ya^{43} ba^{3} yhwi^{32} ?i^{2} ?ba^{3} ?ni^{3} ndšku^{1} ntę^{34} lka^{4} ?i^{2} kǫ?^{2} kalu^{4} ndiya^{21} ?ba^{3} 'animal spring spring went we-exclusive killed pronoun to-we-exclusive animal eating people is pronoun that's-the-one soup is-belonging to-we-exclusive' (29) ha^{4} ndiya^{21} kalu^{4} nu^{3} tsu?we^{32} la^{3} ha^{4} ndiya^{21} kunǫ?^{1} nu^{3} tsu?we^{32} la^{3} '—negation is-belonging soup which good more negation is-belonging meat which good more—' (30) ka^{4} tu?^{32} kǫ?^{2} kuhwi?^{32} ku^{32} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} kǫ?^{2} '—will-be for-sure that's-the-one will-sell-you will-eat-I —said person different that-particular' (31) ndšga^{3} nǫ^{2} ndšku^{1} ntę^{34} tsu?we^{32} ndšku^{32} 'every thing eating people good eating' (32) tsu?we^{32} ndšku^{32} lo^{2} kǫ?^{2} tša?^{2} ndšku^{32} wǫ^{2} ?i^{3} nǫ^{2} ndšku^{32} ntę^{34} lka^{4} kǫ?^{2} tša?^{2} ndšku^{32} wǫ^{2} ?i^{3} 'good eating and that's why eating you-pl./respectful pronoun thing eating people is that's-why eating you-pl./respectful pronoun' (33) ka^{4} tu?^{32} kǫ?^{2} kuhwi?^{32} ku^{32} 'will-be for-sure that-particular will-sell-you will-eat-I' (34) ngite?^{1} sa?a^{2} ti?^{43} ku^{32} lomsǫ^{43} ngite?^{1} sa?a^{2} ti^{43} ku^{32} kyha^{3} yhwi^{1} '—hungry very I will-eat-I breakfast-my hungry very I will-eat-I tortilla —said he' (35) tsu?we^{32} lye^{32} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ngwa^{4} tyi^{2} lo^{2} yhwi?^{32} ne?^{3} kalu^{4} kwityi?^{32}

lo^{2} yku^{2} ne?^{3} '—good very —said person was,dir. own and sold person soup frog and ate person' (36) tsu?we^{32} yu?wi^{43} šiyo^{23} kalu^{4} kwityi?^{32} tsu?we^{32} yu?wi^{43} mši^{4} lo^{2} o^{3} 'good there-was,dir. flavouring soup frog good there-was tomato in it' (37) ngudiya^{21} ti?^{32} ne?^{2} ša?^{3} no^{2} yku^{2} ne?^{3} 'liked person different thing ate person' (38) yku^{2} ne?^{3} kwityi?^{32} yku^{2} ne?^{3} kye^{2} kwityi?^{32} yku^{2} ne?^{3} ti^{2} nyo?o^{43} kwityi?^{32} tsu?we^{32} yu?wi^{43} kwityi?^{32} ni?^{2} ki?no^{3} yku^{2} ne?^{3} 'ate person frog ate person head-of frog ate person towards kind-of (body-of) frog good there-was,dir. frog inside plate ate he' (39) ngudiya^{43} ti?^{32} ne?^{2} šu?^{4} ndšku^{32} yku^{2} ne?^{3} 'liked person tasty eating ate he' (40) ko?^{2} nu^{3} mdyi^{1} yku^{32} ti^{3} ne?^{3} ?i^{2} mdo?o^{1} ne?^{3} ngiya^{43} ne?^{2} ndo?o^{1} ne?^{3} mdiya^{21} tukwa^{32} ne?^{2} kwiyu^{34} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} ndo?o^{1} ngiya^{43} ne?^{2} bra^{3} ko?^{2} 'that's-the-one which finished,dir. ate only person pronoun emerged person going person emerging person was-belonging will-be-on person mule to person emerging going person then'

(41) ko?^{2} nu^{3} ngila^{23} ne?^{2} se?e^{3} nu^{3} ki?ya^{23} kitu?^{3} bra^{3} ko?^{2} 'that's-the-one which arriving person place the-particular mountain cooking-pot then' (42) ne?^{3} ša?^{3} ndukwa^{43} hwinka^{4} ki?ya^{23} kitu?^{3} lka^{4} ne?^{3} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} ndukwa^{43} hwinka^{4} ki?ya^{23} kitu?^{3} lka^{4} ne?^{3} ko?^{2} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} lka^{4} ko?^{2} ngila^{23} ne?^{2} 'person different is-on coffee-ranch mountain cooking-pot is person person different is-on coffee-ranch mountain cooking-pot is he that's-the-one person different is that's-the-one arriving person' (43) ne?^{3} ša?^{3} ndukwa^{43} ki?ya^{23} kitu?^{3} lka^{4} lo^{2} ndiya^{21} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} nu^{3} ndikye?^{32} no^{2} ndšku^{1} ne?^{3} 'person different is-on mountain cooking-pot is and is-belonging cook to person which cooking thing eating person'

(44) lo^{2} no?o^{32} ne?^{2} ndo?o^{32} ska^{3} sne^{12} 'and seeing person walking one toad' (45) yhwi^{32} ne?^{2} ?i^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} 'said person to cook to person' (46) kuhwi^{32} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} yhwi^{32} ne?^{2} '—will-kill-you animal here —said person' (47) kuhwi^{32} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} lo^{2} kye?^{32} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} ku?ni^{32}

kalu^{4} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} tša?^{2} ku^{32} yhwi^{1} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ?i^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ?i^{1} nu^{3} kwo?o^{1} ndikye?^{32} no^{2} ndšku^{1} ne?^{3} '—will-kill-you animal here and will-cook-you to pronoun will-make-you soup to pronoun in-order-that will-eat-I —said-he said person to cook to person said person to the-particular female cooking thing eating person' (48) ha^{4} tškwi?^{32} ngwo^{2} ?o^{3} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwo?o^{1} yhwi^{32} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} '—negation will-speak-you like-that —said the-particular female said cook to person' (49) ha^{4} tškwi?^{32} ngwo^{2} ?o^{3} ?ni^{3} la^{2} lka^{4} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} '—negation will-speak-you like-that animal fierce is here —said-she' (50) ha^{4} ndšku^{1} nte^{34} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} '—negation eating people animal here —said-she' (51) nde^{3} ?ni^{3} nu^{3} no^{2} sne^{12} yhwi^{1} '—here animal which name toad —said-she' (52) ha^{4} la^{1} ?a^{2} yhwi^{1} ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} nu^{3} wa^{2} no?o^{43} ndšku^{1} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} šu?^{4} ?a^{1} ndšku^{32} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} '—negation fierce much —said-he— animal good is here —said-he— which completion seeing eating-I to pronoun —said-he— tasty much eating animal here —said-he' (53) nde^{3} ?ni^{3} nguda^{1} ne?^{3} yku^{1} tu?kwi^{21} nu^{3} ngiyo^{1} yhwi^{1} '—here animal gave person ate-I road which I-came, dir. —said-he' (54) ngilo^{1} se?e^{3} ngo?o^{32} ne?^{2} ngite?^{1} ti^{32} ku^{32} kyha^{3} ngite?^{1} ti?^{32} ku?ni^{1} lomsa^{34} yhwi^{1} '—arriving-I place is-adjoining person hungry-I will-eat-I tortilla hungry-I will-make breakfast-of —said-he' (55) lo^{2} nde^{3} ?ni^{3} ngu?ni^{1} ne?^{3} kalu^{4} nguda^{1} ne?^{3} yku^{1} yhwi^{1} '—and here animal made person soup gave person ate-I —said-he' (56) šu?^{4} ?a^{1} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} tsu?we^{32} ?a^{1} ndšku^{32} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} '—tasty very animal here good very eating animal here —said-he' (57) si?i^{1} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} lka^{4} no^{2} ngwo^{2} ?o^{3} yhwi^{32} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwo?o^{1} ndikye?^{32} no^{2} ndšku^{1} ne?^{3} '—is-not animal here is thing like that —said cook said the-particular female cooking thing eating person' (58) si?i^{1} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} lka^{4} ko?^{2} yhwi^{1} ša?^{3} nyo?o^{43} ko?^{2} yhwi^{1} '—is-not animal here is that-particular —said-she— different looking, dir. that-particular

—said-she' (59) kǫ?^{2} ?ni^{3} nu^{3} nǫ^{2} kwityi?^{32} yhwi^{1} kǫ?^{2} nu^{3} ?ni^{3} ndšku^{1} ntę^{34} yhwi^{1} '—that-particular animal which name frog —said-he— that's-the-one which animal eating people —said-she' (60) si?i^{1} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} nǫ^{2} ša?^{3} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} kǫ?^{2} yhwi^{1} '—is-not animal this thing different looking, dir. that-particular —said-she' (61) kwi?^{1} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} kwi?^{1} ?ni^{3} nde^{3} lka^{4} ?i^{2} '—same —said person different— same animal here is to-it' (62) nǫ^{2} ngwǫ^{2} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} yhwi^{1} ngwǫ^{2} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} nkye?^{32} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} '—thing like looking, dir. —said-he— like looking, dir. cooking pronoun —said-he' (63) si?i^{1} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} ša?^{3} yi?ǫ^{43} kǫ?^{2} ša?^{3} yi?ǫ^{43} kǫ?^{2} yhwi^{1} '—is-not pronoun —said-she— different looked that-particular different looked that-particular —said-she' (64) lo^{2} nde^{3} nde^{3} ?ni^{3} nu^{3} nǫ^{2} snę^{12} yhwi^{1} tše^{2} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} tše^{2} nyǫ?ǫ^{43} nde^{3} '—and here here animal which name toad —said-she— bad looking, dir. here —said-she— bad looking, dir. here' (65) ?ni^{3} la^{2} lka^{4} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} ha^{4} ndšku^{1} ntę^{34} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} kaha^{1} ntę^{34} si^{1} ku^{2} ne?^{3} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} '—animal fierce is here —said-she— negation eating people here —said-she— will-die people if will-eat person here —said-she' (66) ha^{4} kaha^{1} ne?^{3} yhwi^{1} '—negation will-die person —said-he' (67) ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} nde^{3} yhwi^{1} wa^{2} nǫ?ǫ^{43} ndšku^{1} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} '—animal good is here —said-he— completion seeing-I eating-I pronoun —said-he' (68) kye?^{32} ku^{32} yhwi^{1} '—will-cook-you will-eat-I —said-he' (69) ha^{4} kyę?^{43} yhwi^{32} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ha^{4} kyę?^{43} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwǫ?ǫ^{1} ndikye?^{32} nǫ^{2} ndšku^{1} ne?^{3} '—negation will-cook-I —said cook— negation will-cook-I —said the-particular female cooking thing eating person' (70) nǫ^{2} kaha^{32} si^{1} ku^{32} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} '—thing will-die-you if will-eat-you pronoun —said-she' (71) kye?^{32} ku^{32} '—will-cook-you will-eat-I' (72) ha^{4} kyę?^{43} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwǫ?ǫ^{1} '—negation will-cook-I —said the-particular female' (73) kye?^{32} yhwi^{1} '—will-cook-you —said-he' (74) nǫ^{2} ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} nǫ^{2} wa^{2} nǫ?ǫ^{43} ndšku^{1} ?i^{2} yhwi^{1} '—thing make good thing completion seeing-I

eating-I pronoun —said-he' (75) ha^{4} kyę?^{43} nǫ^{2} kaha^{32} ku^{32} ?i^{2} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwǫ?ǫ^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} yhwi^{32} nu^{3} kwǫ?ǫ^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ?i^{1} patru^{4} ?i^{3} '—negation will-cook-I thing will-die-you will-eat-you pronoun —said the-particular female cook to person different said the-particular female cook to master pronoun' (76) ha^{4} kyę?^{43} nǫ^{2} kaha^{32} ku^{32} ?i^{2} yhwi^{1} '—negation will-cook-I thing will-die-you will-eat-you pronoun —said-she' (77) kye?^{32} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} nǫ^{2} ?ni^{3} tsu?we^{32} lka^{4} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} wa^{2} nǫ?ǫ^{43} ndšku^{1} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} yhwi^{1} '—will-cook-you to pronoun —said-he— thing make good is pronoun —said-he— completion seeing-I eating-I to pronoun —said-he' (78) wa^{2} ngitsǫ?^{43} ?i^{2} wa^{2} ngitsǫ?^{43} ?i^{2} tša?^{2} ?ni^{3} la^{2} lka^{4} ?i^{2} tša?^{2} kaha^{32} ku^{32} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} '—completion telling-I pronoun completion telling-I pronoun to-the-effect-that animal fierce is pronoun to-the-effect-that will-die-you will-eat-you to pronoun' (79) wa^{2} ngitsǫ?^{43} ?i^{2} tša?^{2} ha^{4} ndšku^{1} nte^{34} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} '—completion telling-I pronoun that negation eating people to pronoun' (80) ha^{4} kusu?wa^{32} ki?ya^{2} ?yǫ^{21} ha^{4} tyo?o^{1} ki?ya^{2} ?yǫ^{21} si^{1} kaha^{32} ku^{32} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} '—negation will-put sin to-me negation will-emerge, dir. sin to-me if will-die-you will-eat-you to pronoun' (81) wa^{2} ngitsǫ?^{43} ?i^{2} tša?^{2} ha^{4} kuhwi^{1} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} tša?^{2} kaha^{32} ku^{32} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} tša?^{2} lka^{4} ?ni^{3} la^{2} '—completion telling-I pronoun to-the-effect-that negation will-kill-I to pronoun to-the-effect-that will-die-you will-eat-you to pronoun to-the-effect-that is animal fierce' (82) wa^{2} ngitsǫ?^{43} ?i^{2} wa^{2} ykwi?^{1} lo?o^{2} lo^{2} ha^{4} ynǫ^{1} tša?^{32} ykwi?^{1} lo?o^{2} '—completion telling-I pronoun completion said-I with-you and negation heard-you word said-I with-you' (83) kuhwi^{1} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} tša?^{2} ku^{32} tša?^{2} ... ha^{4} ynǫ^{1} tša?^{32} ykwi?^{1} lo?o^{2} '—will-kill-I to pronoun in-order-that will-eat-you to-the-effect-that ... negation heard-you word spoke-I with-you' (84) kuhwi^{1} tu?^{32} ?i^{1} ?i^{3} ku^{32} ha^{4} ynǫ^{1} tša?^{32} ykwi?^{1} lo?o^{2} '—will-kill-I for-sure-I to pronoun will-eat-you negation heard-you word spoke-I with-you' (85) yhwi^{32} yhwi^{32} ne?^{3} ša?^{3} yhwi^{32}

yhwi$_{\underline{\ }}^{32}$ patru$_{\underline{\ }}^{4}$ ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{3}$ '—killed —said man different— killed —said master pronoun' (86) no$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ ʔni^{3} tsuʔwe^{32} lka^{4} wa^{2} no$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔo$_{\underline{\ }}^{43}$ ndšku$_{\underline{\ }}^{1}$ ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ yhwi$_{\underline{\ }}^{1}$ '—thing make good is completion seeing-I eating-I pronoun —said-he' (87) ngitso$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{43} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ tša^{2} lka^{4} ʔni^{3} la^{2} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ ha^{4} yno$_{\underline{\ }}^{1}$ tšaʔ^{32} ykwi$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{1} loʔo^{2} '—telling-I pronoun to-the-effect-that is animal fierce pronoun negation heard-you word spoke-I with-you' (88) yhwi^{1} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ yhwi^{1} nu^{3} kwo$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔo$_{\underline{\ }}^{1}$ ndikye^{32} no$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ ndšku^{1} neʔ^{3} 'killed cook pronoun killed the-particular female cooking thing eating he' (89) yhwi^{32} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ lo^{2} nkyeʔ^{32} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{1}$ ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{3}$ ngwa^{4} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{3}$ kalu^{4} ndšku^{1} neʔ^{3} nu^{3} lka^{4} ska^{3} sne$_{\underline{\ }}^{12}$ ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{1} 'killed pronoun and cooking to pronoun was, dir. pronoun soup eating person which is one toad that-particular' (90) ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} nda^{43} neʔ^{2} nda^{32} ngusuʔwa^{43} nkyeʔ^{23} ti^{3} kalu^{4} ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} ngusuʔwa^{43} tyi^{2} škwa^{3} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{1}$ o$_{\underline{\ }}^{3}$ niʔ^{2} kiʔno$_{\underline{\ }}^{3}$ 'that's-the-one giving person giving put cooking only soup that's-the-one put cook to it inside plate' (91) nda^{32} yku^{2} neʔ^{3} 'giving ate person' (92) laha^{32} ndukwa^{43} neʔ^{2} ndšku^{1} neʔ^{3} kalu^{4} ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ 'empty is-on person eating person soup that-particular pronoun' (93) bra^{34} ngwilyu^{32} neʔ^{2} bra^{3} ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} bra^{34} nguhwi^{32} neʔ^{2} 'immediately fell-over person then immediately died person'

(94) la^{1} ʔa^{2} ʔni^{3} nu^{3} no$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ sne$_{\underline{\ }}^{12}$ ʔni^{3} la^{1} ʔa^{2} lka^{4} ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} 'fierce very animal which name toad animal fierce very is that-particular' (95) ha^{4} suʔwa^{43} nyo$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔo$_{\underline{\ }}^{43}$ ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ loʔo^{1} ʔni^{3} nu^{3} no$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ kwityiʔ^{32} 'negation will-put looking, dir. pronoun with animal which name frog' (96) ʔni^{3} nu^{3} kwityiʔ^{32} ʔi$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ ša^{3} nyo$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔo$_{\underline{\ }}^{43}$ ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} ʔni^{3} tsuʔwe^{32} lka^{4} ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} ʔni^{3} ndšku^{1} nte$_{\underline{\ }}^{34}$ lka^{4} ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} 'animal the-particular frog pronoun different looking, dir. that-particular animal good is that-particular animal eating people is that-particular' (97) ʔni^{3} tsuʔwe^{32} lka^{4} ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} lo^{2} ʔni^{3} nu^{3} no$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ sne$_{\underline{\ }}^{12}$ tše$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ nyo$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔo$_{\underline{\ }}^{43}$ ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} ša^{3} nyo$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔo$_{\underline{\ }}^{43}$ ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} tše$_{\underline{\ }}^{2}$ nyo$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔo$_{\underline{\ }}^{43}$ ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} 'animal good is that-particular and animal which name toad bad looking, dir. that-particular different looking, dir. that-particular bad looking, dir. that-particular' (98) ko$_{\underline{\ }}$ʔ^{2} tša^{2} 'that-particular thing'

(99) wa^{2} lka^{4} nyo̱?o̱^{43} no̱^{2} ska^{3} ?ni^{3} si?ya^{1} su?wa^{43} nyo̱?o̱^{43} ?ni^{2} ?i̱^{3} 'completion is kind-of name one animal because same looking, dir. animal pronoun' (100) si?i^{1} ska^{3} ti^{3} nyo̱?o̱^{43} no̱^{2} ?i̱^{3} nda^{32} ska^{3} yi?o̱^{43} no̱^{2} ?i̱^{1} ska^{3} ?ni^{3} 'is-not one only looking, dir. name pronoun giving one looked name to one animal'

10.2. The free translation of the text 'Toad Soup' follows.

I will tell you about what happened to a man once, at a place where people live near here. Those people know how to eat frogs, the animals which live in springs. They go to the spring at night to catch them. They eat frogs and like them because they are good, tasty animals. They make soup (or stew) out of them and eat them often. They had some frog soup cooked ready for their breakfast one day.

A Mexican on a mule passed by that place. He was hungry for a meal, he wanted breakfast. This Mexican was passing the village which people call Frog Spring. This Mexican on the mule was the one who was hungry for his breakfast. "Don't you have anything you could sell me for breakfast?" he asked.

"We have," said the people who lived there; "We have soup," they said. "The animal which is called frog, that's the kind of soup there is. People eat these little animals and say they are very tasty. They are spring animals and we went to the spring and killed them, then made this soup. We do not have any better soup nor any better meat."

"That is all right. Sell me what you have and I will eat it," said the Mexican. "Anything that people eat is good for eating. It must be good because that's why you eat it. That is all right. I will buy some to eat. I am so hungry for my breakfast, so hungry for a meal!" he said.

"Very good," said the people who lived there. So they sold him some frog soup and he ate it. It was very well

flavoured and they had put plenty of tomato in it. The Mexican liked this dish that those people ate. He ate the frog's head, he ate the whole of the frog's body: they had put plenty of meat in the plate and he ate it all. He really liked this tasty food. When he had finished eating he went out, mounted his mule and left.

Eventually he got home to his coffee ranch, called Cooking-pot Mountain. This Mexican was the owner of Cooking-pot Mountain coffee ranch, and he had a cook there who cooked his food for him. He saw a toad hopping along and said to his cook, "Kill this animal. Kill it and cook it. Make it into soup for me to eat," he said. He said this to his cook, to the woman who cooked his food.

"Don't speak like that," said his cook to him. "Don't speak like that, because this is a dangerous animal," she said. "People don't eat this animal," she said. "This animal is called a toad."

"It is not dangerous," he said. "This is a good animal which I have seen and eaten and it is very tasty," he said. "This is the animal that was given to me to eat on the trail on the way home. When I arrived at the village I was very hungry for a meal, I was hungry for breakfast," he said, "and this is the animal from which they made soup and gave me some to eat," he said. "This animal is very tasty and very good to eat."

"This is not the same animal," said the cook. "This is not the same as that one. It's different looking," she said. "That animal was a frog which is an animal that people eat," she said. "It's not the same as this animal here."

"It is the same," said the Mexican, "this is the very same animal. It looked just like this one. This is the one that was cooked," he said.

"It isn't," she said, "that one was different. That one was different!" she said. "And the animal here is a toad, a bad-looking animal. This is a dangerous animal and people don't eat it," she said. "People die if they eat this one."

"They will not die," he said, "this is a good animal that I have seen and eaten," he said. "Cook it for me to eat."

"I will not cook it," said the cook. "I will not cook it," said the woman who cooked his food. "You will die if you eat it."

"Cook it for me to eat!"

"I will not cook it," said the woman.

"Cook it!" he said. "It is a good animal that I have seen and eaten."

"I will not cook anything which will kill you when you eat it," said the woman who was his cook to the Mexican, her master. "I will not cook anything that would kill you," she said.

"You are to cook it," he said, "because it is a good thing that I have seen and eaten."

"I've told you that this is a dangerous animal and you will die if you eat it. I've told you that people do not eat it. It won't be my fault if you die when you eat it. I have told you that I will not kill it, that you will die if you eat it and that it is a dangerous animal. I've told you and spoken to you but you wouldn't listen to what I said. I will kill it and you can eat it because you didn't listen to what I said. I will certainly kill it for you to eat because you wouldn't listen."

Then the Mexican said, "When it is killed you will see that it is a good animal to eat."

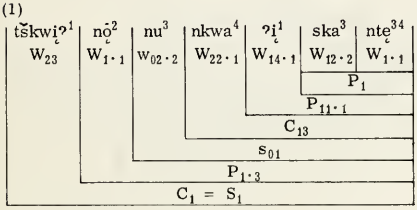
"I've told you that it is a dangerous animal, but you would not listen," said his cook. So she killed and cooked it for him. She made toad soup for him to eat. That is what she cooked for him and put on a plate for him to eat. He ate it all till the plate was empty. Immediately he fell over and immediately was dead.

The toad is a very, very dangerous animal, and it does not look the same as a frog. The frog looks different and is a good animal which people can eat. The frog is a good animal but the toad looks different and is a bad animal. That is how it is. There is one name for one kind of animal since

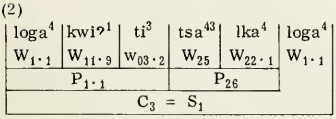
all of one kind of animal look the same. These (two) do not look the same, so one name is given to just one kind of animal.

10.3. The following charts show the detailed analysis of the text 'Toad Soup'. The number of tagmemes in a particular structural type at any level is indicated by the vertical lines, while the particular level is indicated by the horizontal lines.

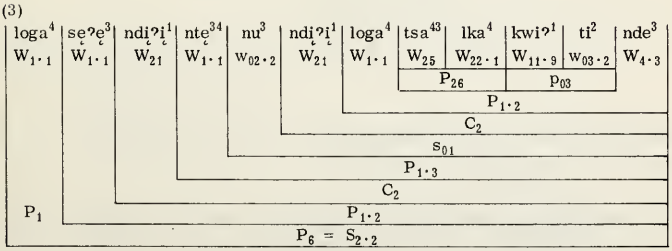
(1)



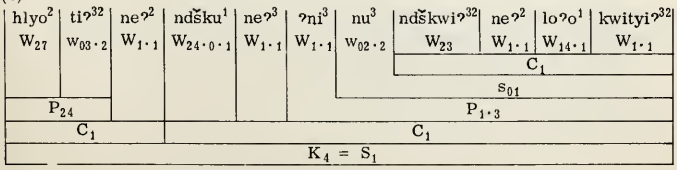
(2)



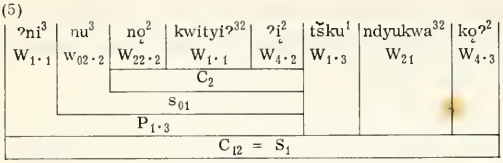
(3)



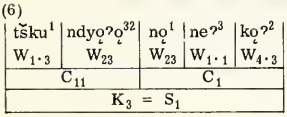
(4)



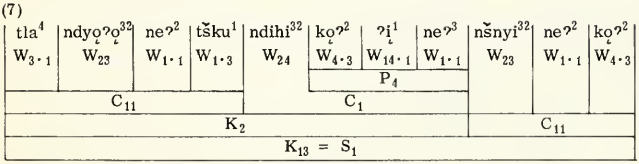
(5)


ʔni3 W1·1
nu3 W02·2
no2 W22·2
kwityiʔ32 W1·1
ʔi2 W4·2
tšku1 W1·3
ndyukwa32 W21
ko2 W4·3
C2
S01
P1·3
C12 = S1

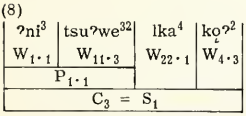
(6)


tšku1 W1·3
ndyoʔo32 W23
no1 W23
neʔ3 W1·1
ko2 W4·3
C11
C1
K3 = S1

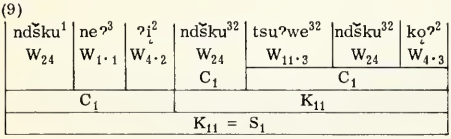
(7)


tla4 W3·1
ndyoʔo32 W23
neʔ2 W1·1
tšku1 W1·3
ndihi32 W24
ko2 W4·3
ʔi1 W14·1
neʔ3 W1·1
nšnyi32 W23
neʔ2 W1·1
ko2 W4·3
P4
C11
C1
K2
C11
K13 = S1

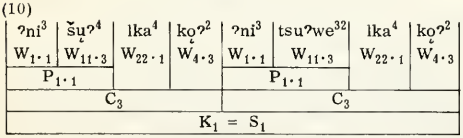
(8)


ʔni3 W1·1
tsuʔwe32 W11·3
lka4 W22·1
ko2 W4·3
P1·1
C3 = S1

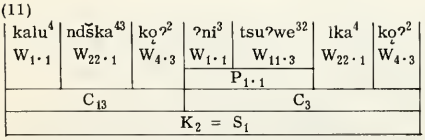
(9)


ndšku1 W24
neʔ3 W1·1
ʔi2 W4·2
ndšku32 W24
C1
tsuʔwe32 W11·3
ndšku32 W24
C1
ko2 W4·3
C1
K11
K11 = S1

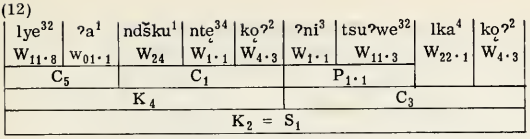
(10)


ʔni3 W1·1
šuʔ4 W11·3
lka4 W22·1
ko2 W4·3
ʔni3 W1·1
tsuʔwe32 W11·3
lka4 W22·1
ko2 W4·3
P1·1
P1·1
C3
C3
K1 = S1

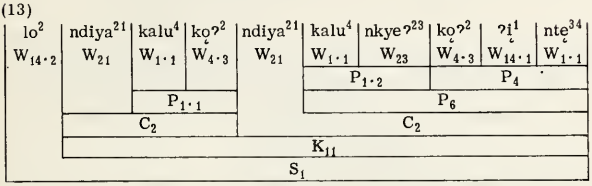
(11)


kalu4 W1·1
ndška43 W22·1
ko2 W4·3
ʔni3 W1·1
tsuʔwe32 W11·3
lka4 W22·1
ko2 W4·3
P1·1
C13
C3
K2 = S1

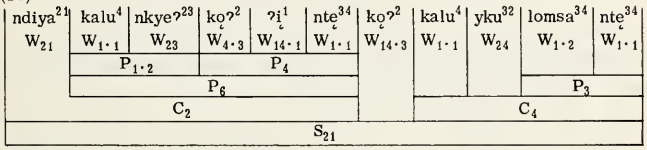
(12)



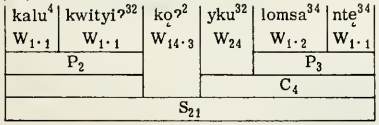
(13)



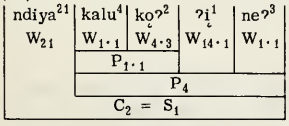
(14)



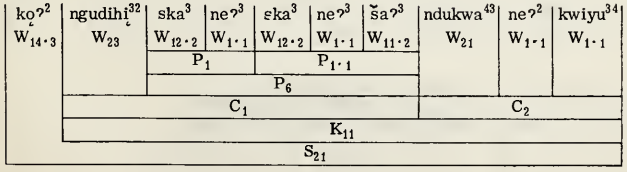
(15)



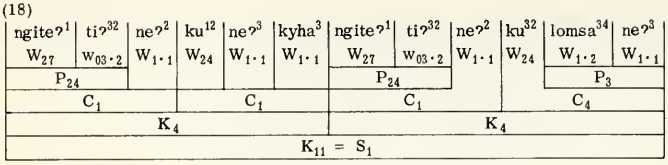
(16)



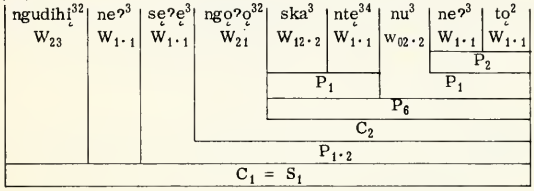
(17)



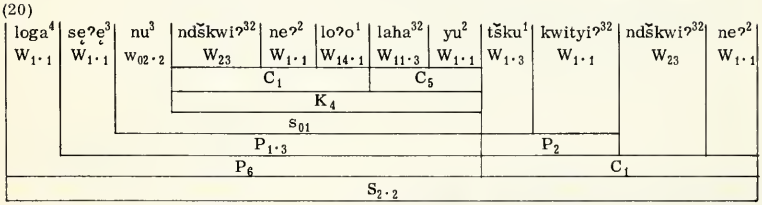
(18)

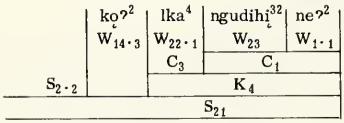

ngite?^{1} W$_{27}$
ti?^{32} w$_{03\cdot2}$
ne?^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ku^{12} W$_{24}$
ne?^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
kyha^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ngite?^{1} W$_{27}$
ti?^{32} w$_{03\cdot2}$
ne?^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ku^{32} W$_{24}$
lomsa^{34} W$_{1\cdot2}$
ne?^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
P$_{24}$
P$_{24}$
P$_{3}$
C$_{1}$
C$_{1}$
C$_{1}$
C$_{4}$
K$_{4}$
K$_{4}$
K$_{11}$ = S$_{1}$

(19)

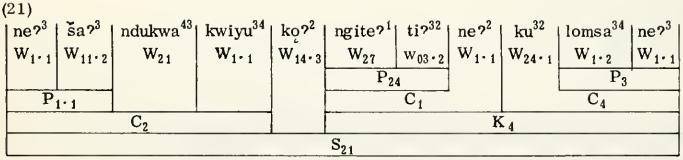

ngudihi^{32} W$_{23}$
ne?^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
se?e^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ngo?o^{32} W$_{21}$
ska^{3} W$_{12\cdot2}$
nte^{34} W$_{1\cdot1}$
nu^{3} w$_{02\cdot2}$
ne?^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
to^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
P$_{2}$
P$_{1}$
P$_{1}$
P$_{6}$
C$_{2}$
P$_{1\cdot2}$
C$_{1}$ = S$_{1}$

(20)

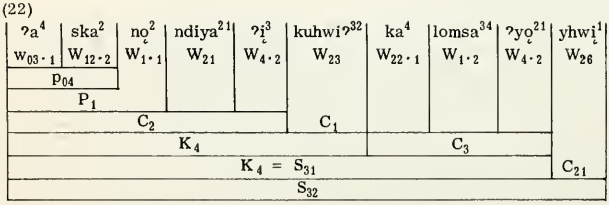

loga^{4} W$_{1\cdot1}$
se?e^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
nu^{3} w$_{02\cdot2}$
ndškwi?^{32} W$_{23}$
ne?^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
lo?o^{1} W$_{14\cdot1}$
laha^{32} W$_{11\cdot3}$
yu^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
tšku^{1} W$_{1\cdot3}$
kwityi?^{32} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ndškwi?^{32} W$_{23}$
ne?^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
C$_{1}$
C$_{5}$
K$_{4}$
s$_{01}$
P$_{1\cdot3}$
P$_{2}$
P$_{6}$
C$_{1}$
S$_{2\cdot2}$


ko?^{2} W$_{14\cdot3}$
lka^{4} W$_{22\cdot1}$
ngudihi^{32} W$_{23}$
ne?^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
C$_{3}$
C$_{1}$
S$_{2\cdot2}$
K$_{4}$
S$_{21}$

(21)


ne?^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ša?^{3} W$_{11\cdot2}$
ndukwa^{43} W$_{21}$
kwiyu^{34} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ko?^{2} W$_{14\cdot3}$
ngite?^{1} W$_{27}$
ti?^{32} w$_{03\cdot2}$
ne?^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ku^{32} W$_{24\cdot1}$
lomsa^{34} W$_{1\cdot2}$
ne?^{3} W$_{1\cdot1}$
P$_{24}$
P$_{3}$
P$_{1\cdot1}$
C$_{1}$
C$_{4}$
C$_{2}$
K$_{4}$
S$_{21}$

(22)


?a^{4} w$_{03\cdot1}$
ska^{2} W$_{12\cdot2}$
no^{2} W$_{1\cdot1}$
ndiya^{21} W$_{21}$
?i^{3} W$_{4\cdot2}$
kuhwi?^{32} W$_{23}$
ka^{4} W$_{22\cdot1}$
lomsa^{34} W$_{1\cdot2}$
?yo^{21} W$_{4\cdot2}$
yhwi^{1} W$_{26}$
P$_{04}$
P$_{1}$
C$_{2}$
C$_{1}$
K$_{4}$
C$_{3}$
K$_{4}$ = S$_{31}$
C$_{21}$
S$_{32}$

(23)

ndiya^{21}	yhwi$^{1}_{\downarrow}$	ko$^{2}_{\downarrow}$?^{2}	yhwi$^{32}_{\downarrow}$	ne?^{2}	ngwa^{4}	tyi^{2}
W_{21}	W_{26}	$W_{14\cdot3}$	W_{26}	$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{22\cdot1}$	$W_{1\cdot4}$
$C_2 = S_{31}$	C_{21}			C_3		
S_{32}			C_{21}			
S_{21}						

(24)

ndiya^{21}	kalu^{4}	yhwi$^{32}_{\downarrow}$	ne?^{2}
W_{21}	$W_{1\cdot1}$	W_{26}	$W_{1\cdot1}$
$C_2 = S_{31}$		C_{21}	
S_{32}			

(25)

?ni^{3}	nu^{3}	ndškwi?^{32}	ne?^{2}	lo?o^{1}	kwityi?^{32}	ko$^{2}_{\downarrow}$?^{2}	kalu^{4}	ndiya^{21}	?ba^{3}
$W_{1\cdot1}$	$w_{02\cdot2}$	W_{23}	$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{14\cdot1}$	$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{14\cdot3}$	$W_{1\cdot1}$	W_{21}	$W_{4\cdot2}$
		C_1							
		S_{01}							
	$P_{1\cdot3}$						C_2		
S_{21}									

(26)

?ni^{3}	luwe^{2}	ti^{3}	lka^{4}	?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$
$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{11\cdot6}$	$w_{03\cdot2}$	$W_{22\cdot1}$	$W_{4\cdot2}$
$P_{1\cdot1}$				
$C_3 = S_1$				

(27)

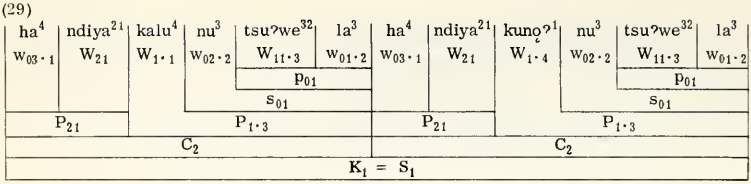
ndšku^{32}	nte$^{34}_{\downarrow}$	?i$^{1}_{\downarrow}$	?i$^{3}_{\downarrow}$	šu$^{4}_{\downarrow}$?^{4}	?ni^{3}	lka^{4}	?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$
W_{24}	$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{14\cdot1}$	$W_{4\cdot2}$	$W_{11\cdot3}$	$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{22\cdot1}$	$W_{4\cdot2}$
				C_5		C_3	
C_1				K_4			
$K_2 = S_1$							

(28)

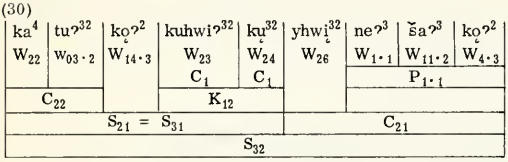
?ni^{3}	tšku^{1}	tšku^{1}	ya^{43}	ba^{3}	yhwi^{32}	?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$	?ba^{3}	?ni^{3}	ndšku^{1}	nte$^{34}_{\downarrow}$	lka^{4}	?i$^{2}_{\downarrow}$
$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{1\cdot3}$	$W_{1\cdot3}$	W_{23}	w_{04}	W_{23}	$W_{4\cdot2}$	$W_{4\cdot2}$	$W_{1\cdot1}$	W_{24}	$W_{1\cdot1}$	$W_{22\cdot1}$	$W_{4\cdot2}$
P_2												
C_1					C_{11}			$P_{1\cdot2}$				
K_3								C_3				
K_2												

	ko$^{2}_{\downarrow}$?^{2}	kalu^{4}	ndiya^{21}	?ba^{3}
	$W_{14\cdot3}$	$W_{1\cdot1}$	W_{21}	$W_{4\cdot2}$
K_2		C_2		
S_{21}				

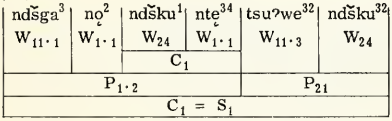
(29)


ha4 W03·1
ndiya21 W21
kalu4 W1·1
nu3 W02·2
tsu?we32 W11·3
la3 W01·2
ha4 W03·1
ndiya21 W21
kuno?1 W1·4
nu3 W02·2
tsu?we32 W11·3
la3 W01·2
p01
s01
P21
P1·3
P21
P1·3
C2
C2
K1 = S1

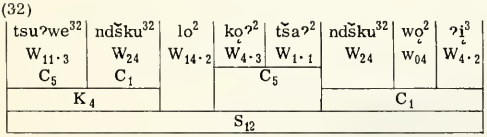
(30)

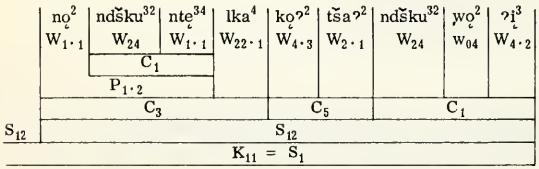

ka4 W22
tu?32 W03·2
ko?2 W14·3
kuhwi?32 W23 C1
ku32 W24 C1
yhwi32 W26
ne?3 W1·1
ša?3 W11·2
ko?2 W4·3
P1·1
C22
K12
S21 = S31
C21
S32

(31)

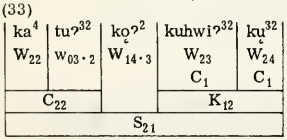

ndšga3 W11·1
no2 W1·1
ndšku1 W24
nte34 W1·1
tsu?we32 W11·3
ndšku32 W24
C1
P1·2
P21
C1 = S1

(32)

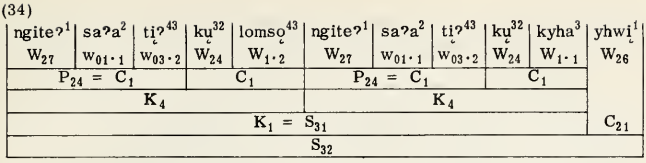

tsu?we32 W11·3 C5
ndšku32 W24 C1
lo2 W14·2
ko?2 W4·3
tša?2 W1·1
C5
ndšku32 W24
wo2 w04
?i3 W4·2
K4
C1
S12


no2 W1·1
ndšku32 W24
nte34 W1·1
lka4 W22·1
ko?2 W4·3
tša?2 W2·1
ndšku32 W24
wo2 w04
?i3 W4·2
C1
P1·2
C3
C5
C1
S12
S12
K11 = S1

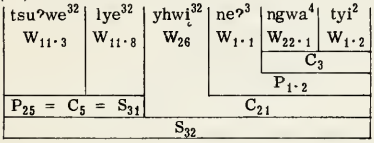
(33)

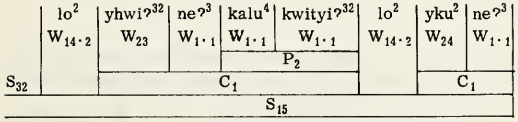

ka4 W22
tu?32 W03·2
ko?2 W14·3
kuhwi?32 W23 C1
ku32 W24 C1
C22
K12
S21

(34)

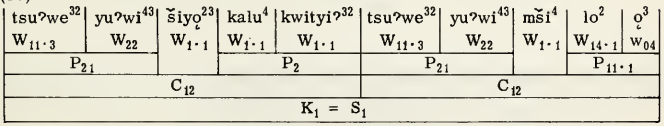

ngite?1 W27
sa?a2 w01·1
ti?43 w03·2
ku32 W24
lomsoˌ43 W1·2
ngite?1 W27
sa?a2 w01·1
ti?43 w03·2
ku32 W24
kyha3 W1·1
yhwiˌ1 W26
P24 = C1
C1
P24 = C1
C1
K4
K4
K1 = S31
C21
S32

(35)

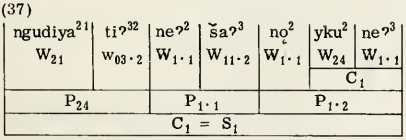

tsu?we32 W11·3
lye32 W11·8
yhwiˌ32 W26
ne?3 W1·1
ngwa4 W22·1
tyi2 W1·2
C3
P1·2
P25 = C5 = S31
C21
S32


lo2 W14·2
yhwi?32 W23
ne?3 W1·1
kalu4 W1·1
kwityi?32 W1·1
P2
lo2 W14·2
yku2 W24
ne?3 W1·1
S32
C1
C1
S15

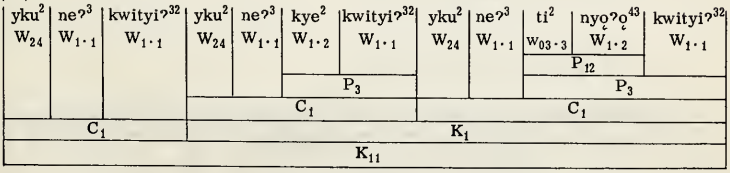
(36)

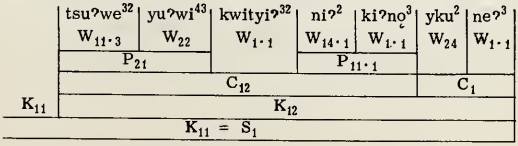

tsu?we32 W11·3
yu?wi43 W22
šiyoˌ23 W1·1
kalu4 W1·1
kwityi?32 W1·1
tsu?we32 W11·3
yu?wi43 W22
mši4 W1·1
lo2 W14·1
oˌ3 w04
P21
P2
P21
P11·1
C12
C12
K1 = S1

(37)

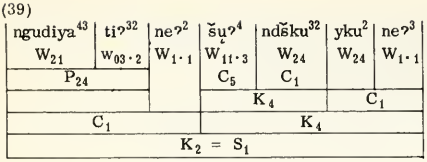

ngudiya21 W21
tiˌ32 w03·2
ne?2 W1·1
ša?3 W11·2
noˌ2 W1·1
yku2 W24
ne?3 W1·1
C1
P24
P1·1
P1·2
C1 = S1

(38)

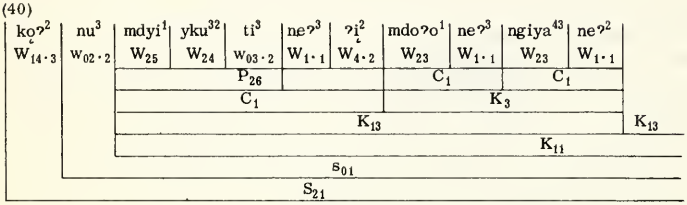

yku2 W24
ne?3 W1·1
kwityi?32 W1·1
yku2 W24
ne?3 W1·1
kye2 W1·2
kwityi?32 W1·1
yku2 W24
ne?3 W1·1
ti2 w03·3
nyoˌ?oˌ43 W1·2
kwityi?32 W1·1
P12
P3
P3
C1
C1
C1
K1
K11

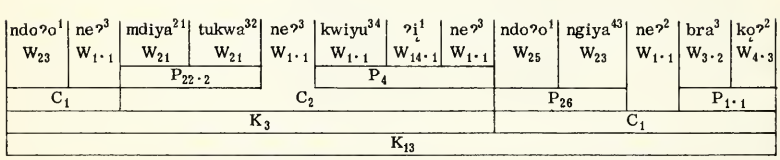

tsu?we32 W11·3
yu?wi43 W22
kwityi?32 W1·1
niˌ?2 W14·1
kiˌ?noˌ3 W1·1
yku2 W24
ne?3 W1·1
P21
P11·1
C12
C1
K11
K12
K11 = S1

(39)

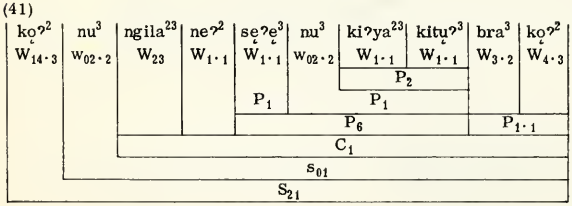

ngudiya43 ti?32 ne?2 šu?4 ndšku32 yku2 ne?3
W21 w03·2 W1·1 W11·3 W24 W24 W1·1
P24
C5 C1
K4 C1
C1 K4
K2 = S1

(40)

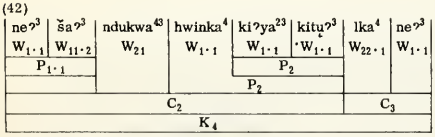

ko?2 nu3 mdyi1 yku32 ti3 ne?3 ?i2 mdo?o1 ne?3 ngiya43 ne?2
W14·3 w02·2 W25 W24 w03·2 W1·1 W4·2 W23 W1·1 W23 W1·1
P26
C1 K3
K13 K13
K11
S01
S21

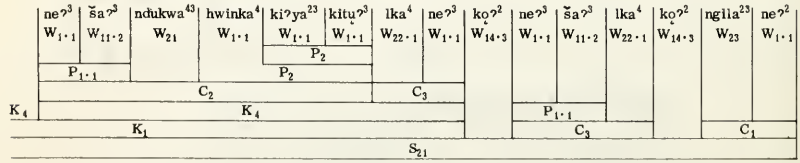

ndo?o1 ne?3 mdiya21 tukwa32 ne?3 kwiyu34 ?i1 ne?3 ndo?o1 ngiya43 ne?2 bra3 ko?2
W23 W1·1 W21 W21 W1·1 W1·1 W14·1 W1·1 W25 W23 W1·1 W3·2 W4·3
P22·2 P4
C1 C2 P26 P1·1
K3 C1
K13

(41)

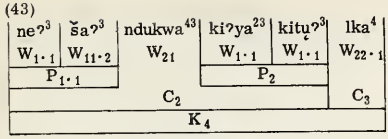

ko?2 nu3 ngila23 ne?2 se?e3 nu3 ki?ya23 kitu?3 bra3 ko?2
W14·3 w02·2 W23 W1·1 W1·1 w02·2 W1·1 W1·1 W3·2 W4·3
P2
P1 P1
P6 P1·1
C1
S01
S21

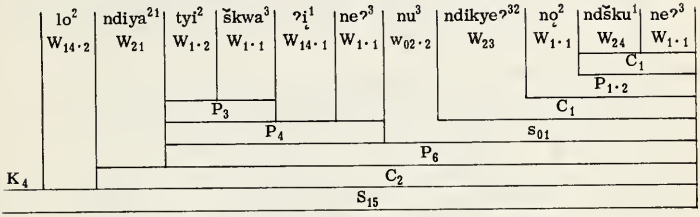
(42)


ne?3 ša?3 ndukwa43 hwinka4 ki?ya23 kitu?3 lka4 ne?3
W1·1 W11·2 W21 W1·1 W1·1 W1·1 W22·1 W1·1
P1·1
P2
P2
C2 C3
K4

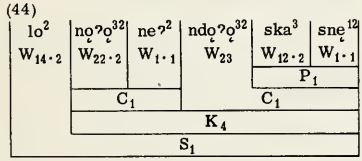

ne?3 ša?3 ndukwa43 hwinka4 ki?ya23 kitu?3 lka4 ne?3 ko?2 ne?3 ša?3 lka4 ko?2 ngila23 ne?2
W1·1 W11·2 W21 W1·1 W1·1 W1·1 W22·1 W1·1 W14·3 W1·1 W11·2 W22·1 W14·3 W23 W1·1
P2
P1·1 P2
C2 C3
K4 K4
P1·1
K1 C3 C1
S21

(43)

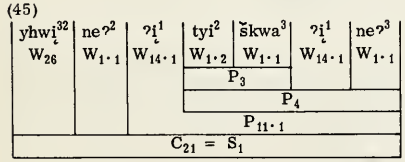

ne?3 W1·1
šа?3 W11·2
ndukwa43 W21
ki?ya23 W1·1
kitu?3 W1·1
lka4 W22·1
P1·1
P2
C2
C3
K4


lo2 W14·2
ndiya21 W21
tyi2 W1·2
škwa3 W1·1
?i1 W14·1
ne?3 W1·1
nu3 w02·2
ndikye?32 W23
no2 W1·1
ndšku1 W24
ne?3 W1·1
C1
P1·2
C1
P3
P4
s01
P6
K4
C2
S15

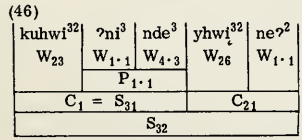
(44)


lo2 W14·2
no?o32 W22·2
ne?2 W1·1
ndo?o32 W23
ska3 W12·2
sne12 W1·1
P1
C1
C1
K4
S1

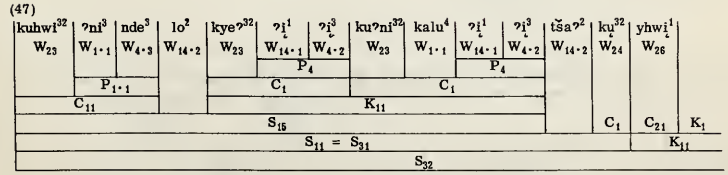
(45)

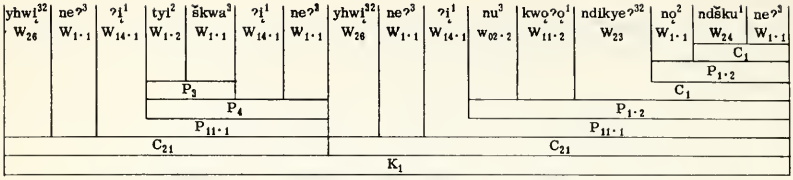

yhwi32 W26
ne?2 W1·1
?i1 W14·1
tyi2 W1·2
škwa3 W1·1
?i1 W14·1
ne?3 W1·1
P3
P4
P11·1
C21 = S1

(46)

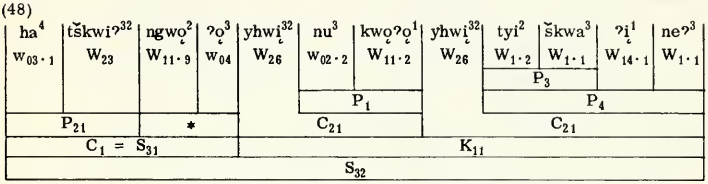

kuhwi32 W23
?ni3 W1·1
nde3 W4·3
yhwi32 W26
ne?2 W1·1
P1·1
C1 = S31
C21
S32

(47)


kuhwi32 W23
?ni3 W1·1
nde3 W4·3
lo2 W14·2
kye?32 W23
?i1 W14·1
?i3 W4·2
ku?ni32 W23
kalu4 W1·1
?i1 W14·1
?i3 W4·2
tša?2 W14·2
ku32 W24
yhwi1 W26
P4
P4
P1·1
C1
C1
C11
K11
S15
C1
C21
K1
S11 = S31
K11
S32

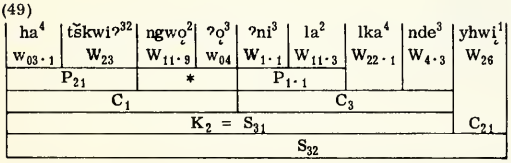


(48)

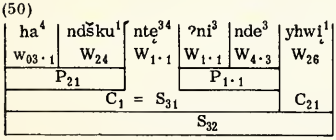


*This minor phrase is unique and an exception to all the phrase types described.

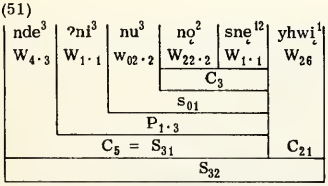
(49)



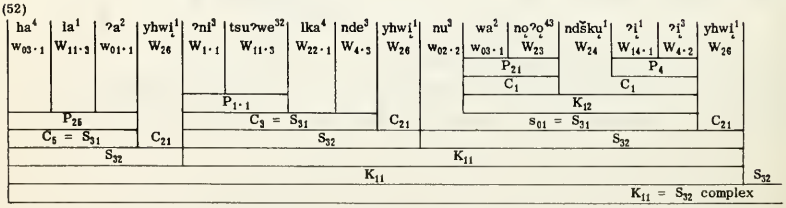
(50)

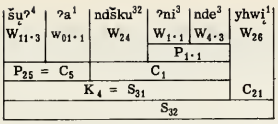


(51)

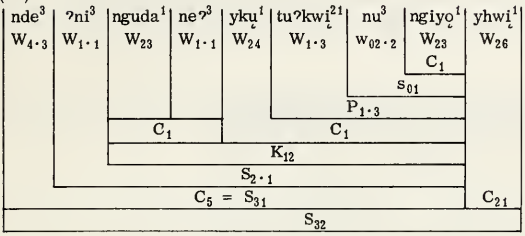


(52)

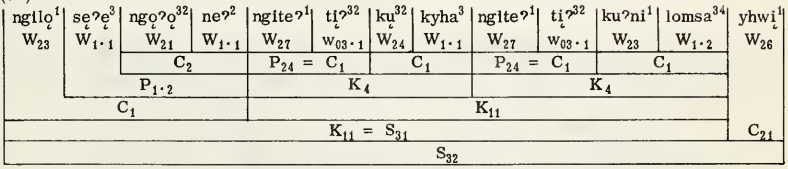



šu?4 W11·3
?a1 w01·1
ndšku32 W24
?ni3 W1·1
nde3 W4·3
yhwi1 W26
P1·1
P25 = C5
C1
K4 = S31
C21
S32

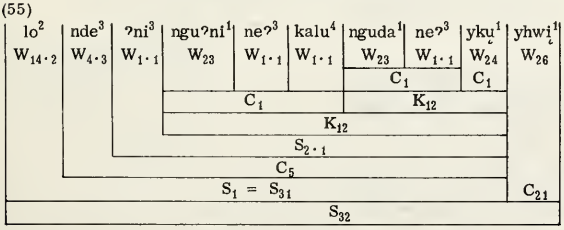
(53)


nde3 W4·3
?ni3 W1·1
nguda1 W23
ne?3 W1·1
yku1 W24
tu?kwi21 W1·3
nu3 w02·2
ngiyo1 W23
yhwi1 W26
C1
s01
P1·3
C1
C1
K12
S2·1
C5 = S31
C21
S32

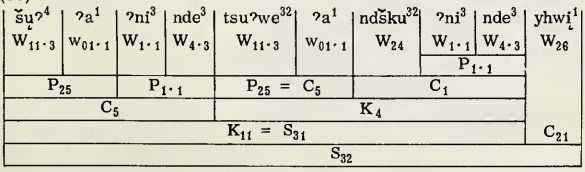
(54)


ngllo1 W23
se?e3 W1·1
ngo?o32 W21
ne?2 W1·1
ngite?1 W27
tl?32 w03·1
ku32 W24
kyha3 W1·1
ngite?1 W27
tl?32 w03·1
ku?ni1 W23
lomsa34 W1·2
yhwi1 W26
C2
P24 = C1
C1
P24 = C1
C1
P1·2
K4
K4
C1
K11
K11 = S31
C21
S32

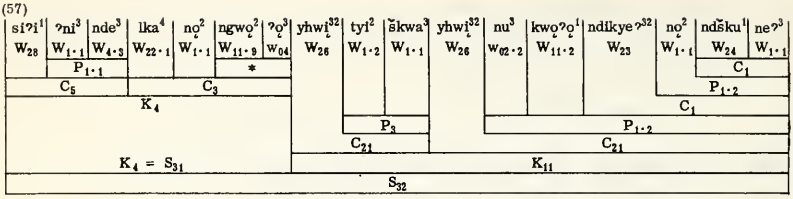
(55)


lo2 W14·2
nde3 W4·3
?ni3 W1·1
ngu?ni1 W23
ne?3 W1·1
kalu4 W1·1
nguda1 W23
ne?3 W1·1
yku1 W24
yhwi1 W26
C1
C1
C1
K12
K12
S2·1
C5
S1 = S31
C21
S32

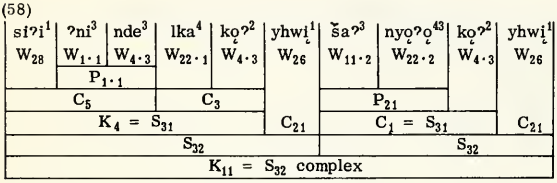
(56)


šu?4 W11·3
?a1 w01·1
?ni3 W1·1
nde3 W4·3
tsu?we32 W11·3
?a1 w01·1
ndšku32 W24
?ni3 W1·1
nde3 W4·3
yhwi1 W26
P1·1
P25
P1·1
P25 = C5
C1
C5
K4
K11 = S31
C21
S32

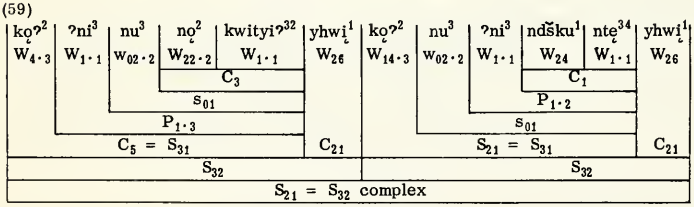
(57)


si?i1 ?ni3 nde3 lka4 nǫ2 ngwǫ2 ?ǫ3 yhwi32 tyi2 škwa3 yhwi32 nu3 kwǫ?ǫ1 ndikye?32 nǫ2 ndšku1 ne?3
W28 W1·1 W4·3 W22·1 W1·1 W11·9 W04 W26 W1·2 W1·1 W26 W02·2 W11·2 W23 W1·1 W24 W1·1
P1·1 * C1
C5 C3 P1·2
K4 C1
P3 P1·2
C21 C21
K4 = S31 K11
S32

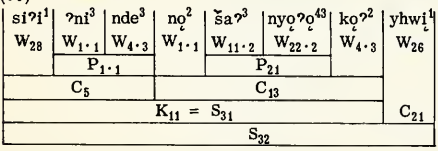
(58)


si?i1 ?ni3 nde3 lka4 kǫ?2 yhwi1 šą?3 nyǫ?ǫ43 kǫ?2 yhwi1
W28 W1·1 W4·3 W22·1 W4·3 W26 W11·2 W22·2 W4·3 W26
P1·1
C5 C3 P21
K4 = S31 C21 Cj = S31 C21
S32 S32
K11 = S32 complex

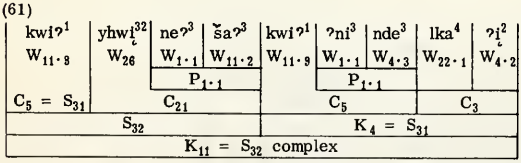
(59)



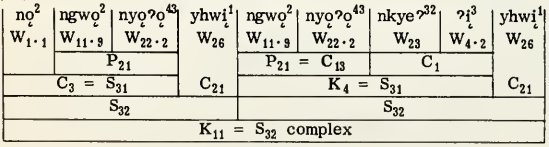
(60)



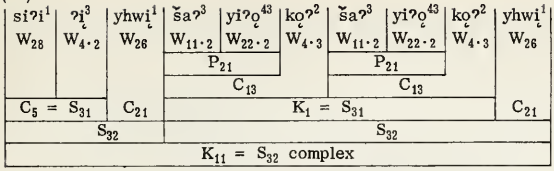
(61)



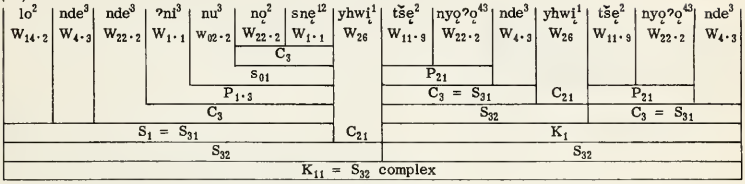
(62)


nǫ2 ngwǫ2 nyǫ?ǫ43 yhwi1 ngwǫ2 nyǫ?ǫ43 nkye?32 ?i3 yhwi1
W1·1 W11·9 W22·2 W26 W11·9 W22·2 W23 W4·2 W26
P21 P21 = C13 C1
C3 = S31 C21 K4 = S31 C21
S32 S32
K11 = S32 complex

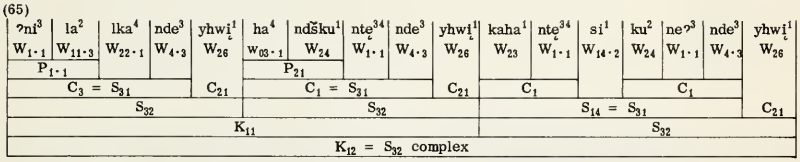
(63)



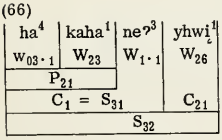
(64)



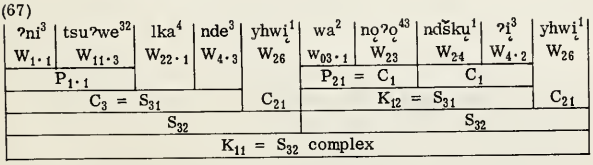
(65)


?ni3 | la2 | lka4 | nde3 | yhwi1 | ha4 | ndšku1 | nte34 | nde3 | yhwi1 | kaha1 | nte34 | si1 | ku2 | ne?3 | nde3 | yhwi1
W1·1 | W11·3 | W22·1 | W4·3 | W26 | W03·1 | W24 | W1·1 | W4·3 | W26 | W23 | W1·1 | W14·2 | W24 | W1·1 | W4·3 | W26
P1·1
P21
C3 = S31 | C21 | C1 = S31 | C21 | C1 | C1
S32 | S32 | S14 = S31 | C21
K11 | S32
K12 = S32 complex

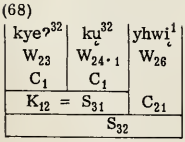
(66)



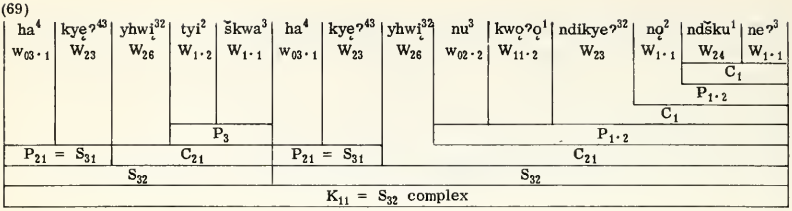
(67)


?ni3 | tsu?we32 | lka4 | nde3 | yhwi1 | wa2 | no?o43 | ndšku1 | ?i3 | yhwi1
W1·1 | W11·3 | W22·1 | W4·3 | W26 | W03·1 | W23 | W24 | W4·2 | W26
P1·1
P21 = C1 | C1
C3 = S31 | C21 | K12 = S31 | C21
S32 | S32
K11 = S32 complex

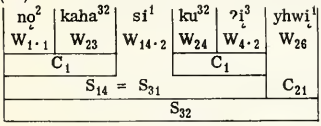
(68)



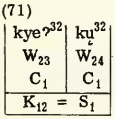
(69)



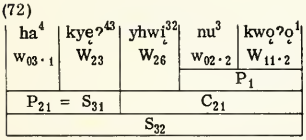
(70)



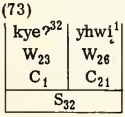
(71)



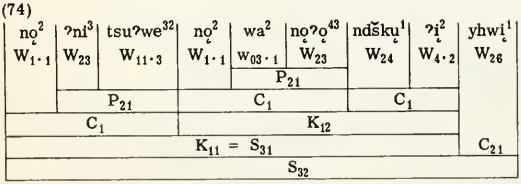
(72)



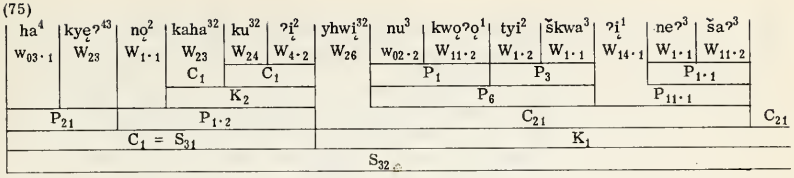
(73)

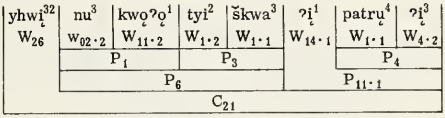


(74)

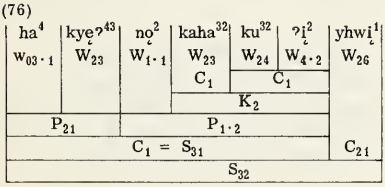


(75)

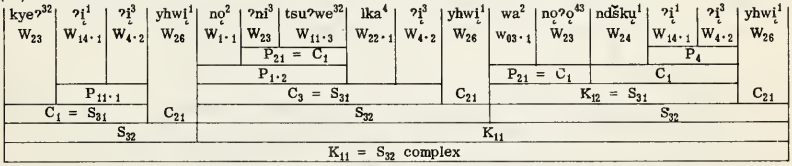

ha4 W03·1
kyę?43 W23
no2 W1·1
kaha32 W23
ku32 W24
?i2 W4·2
yhwi32 W26
nu3 W02·2
kwǫ?o1 W11·2
tyi2 W1·2
škwa3 W1·1
?i1 W14·1
ne?3 W1·1
ša?3 W11·2
C1
C1
K2
P1
P3
P1·1
P6
P11·1
P21
P1·2
C21
C21
C1 = S31
K1
S32


yhwi32 W26
nu3 W02·2
kwǫ?o1 W11·2
tyi2 W1·2
škwa3 W1·1
?i1 W14·1
patru4 W1·1
?i3 W4·2
P1
P3
P4
P6
P11·1
C21

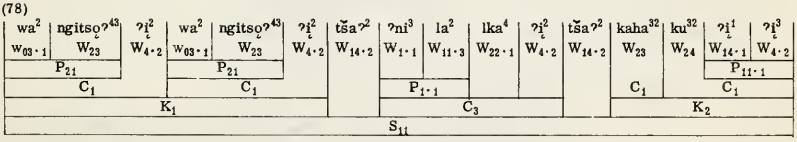
(76)


ha4 W03·1
kyę?43 W23
no2 W1·1
kaha32 W23
ku32 W24
?i2 W4·2
yhwi1 W26
C1
C1
K2
P21
P1·2
C1 = S31
C21
S32

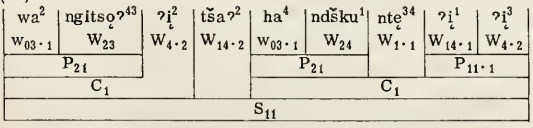
(77)


kye?32 W23
?i1 W14·1
?i3 W4·2
yhwi1 W26
no2 W1·1
?ni3 W23
tsu?we32 W11·3
lka4 W22·1
?i3 W4·2
yhwi1 W26
wa2 W03·1
no?o43 W23
ndšku1 W24
?i1 W14·1
?i3 W4·2
yhwi1 W26
P21 = C1
P4
P1·2
P21 = C1
C1
P11·1
C3 = S31
C21
K12 = S31
C21
C1 = S31
C21
S32
S32
K11
K11 = S32 complex

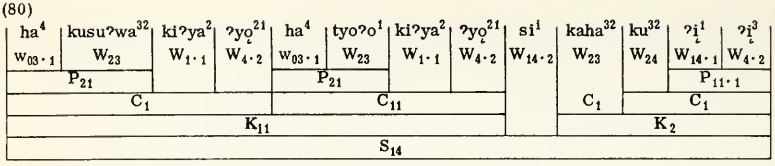
(78)


wa2 W03·1
ngitsǫ?43 W23
?i2 W4·2
wa2 W03·1
ngitsǫ?43 W23
?i2 W4·2
tša?2 W14·2
?ni3 W1·1
la2 W11·3
lka4 W22·1
?i2 W4·2
tša?2 W14·2
kaha32 W23
ku32 W24
?i1 W14·1
?i3 W4·2
P21
P21
P11·1
C1
C1
C1
C1
P1·1
C3
K2
K1
S11

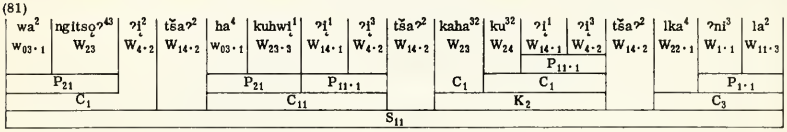
(79)


wa2 W03·1
ngitsǫ?43 W23
?i2 W4·2
tša?2 W14·2
ha4 W03·1
ndšku1 W24
nte34 W1·1
?i1 W14·1
?i3 W4·2
P21
P21
P11·1
C1
C1
S11

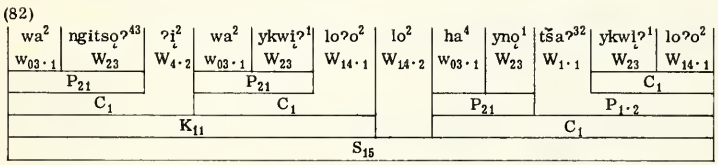
(80)



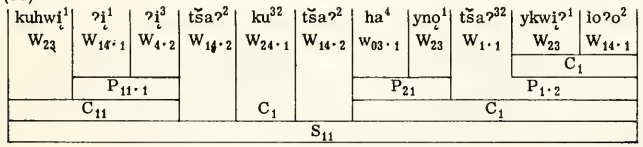
(81)



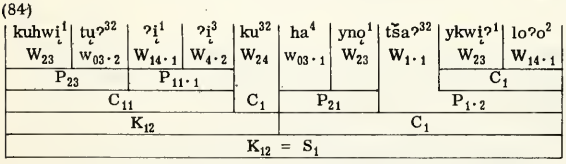
(82)



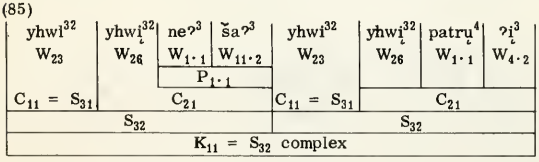
(83)



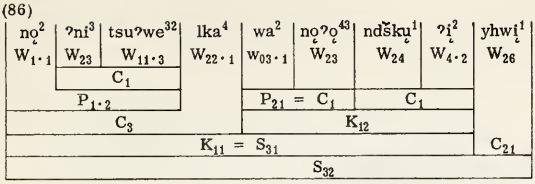
(84)



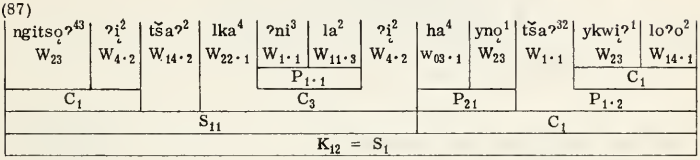
(85)


yhwi32 yhwi32 ne?3 ša?3 yhwi32 yhwi32 patru4 ?i3
W23 W26 W1·1 W11·2 W23 W26 W1·1 W4·2
P1·1
C11 = S31 C21 C11 = S31 C21
S32 S32
K11 = S32 complex

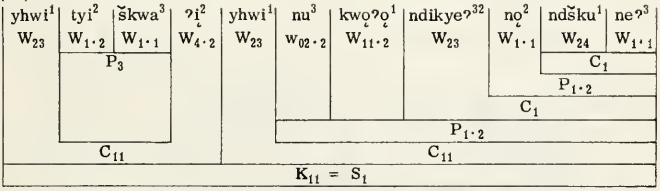
(86)


no2 ?ni3 tsu?we32 lka4 wa2 no?o43 ndšku1 ?i2 yhwi1
W1·1 W23 W11·3 W22·1 w03·1 W23 W24 W4·2 W26
C1
P1·2
P21 = C1 C1
C3 K12
K11 = S31 C21
S32

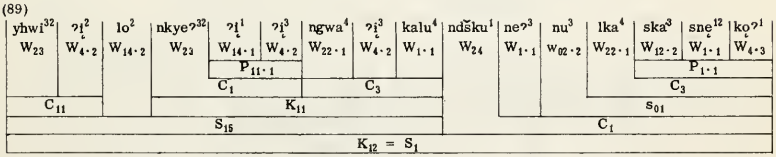
(87)


ngitso?43 ?i2 tša?2 lka4 ?ni3 la2 ?i2 ha4 yno1 tša?32 ykwi?1 lo?o2
W23 W4·2 W14·2 W22·1 W1·1 W11·3 W4·2 w03·1 W23 W1·1 W23 W14·1
P1·1 C1
C1 C3 P21 P1·2
S11 C1
K12 = S1

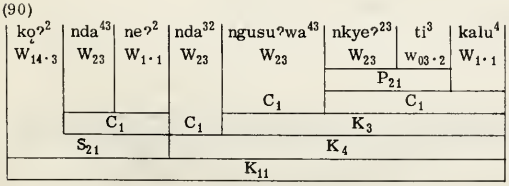
(88)

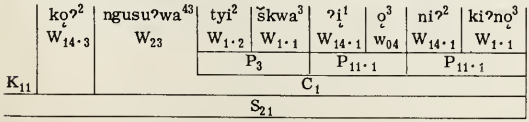

yhwi1 tyi2 škwa3 ?i2 yhwi1 nu3 kwo?o1 ndikye?32 no2 ndšku1 ne?3
W23 W1·2 W1·1 W4·2 W23 w02·2 W11·2 W23 W1·1 W24 W1'1
P3 C1
P1·2
C1
P1·2
C11 C11
K11 = S1

(89)

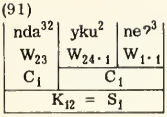

yhwi32 ?i2 lo2 nkye?32 ?i1 ?i3 ngwa4 ?i3 kalu4 ndšku1 ne?3 nu3 lka4 ska3 sne12 ko?1
W23 W4·2 W14·2 W23 W14·1 W4·2 W22·1 W4·2 W1·1 W24 W1·1 w02·2 W22·1 W12·2 W1·1 W4·3
P11·1 P1·1
C1 C3 C3
C11 K11 S01
S15 C1
K12 = S1

(90)

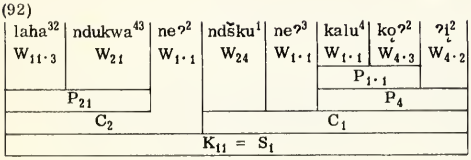

ko?2 nda43 ne?2 nda32 ngusu?wa43 nkye?23 ti3 kalu4
W14·3 W23 W1·1 W23 W23 W23 w03·2 W1·1
P21
C1 C1
C1 C1 K3
S21 K4
K11


ko?2 ngusu?wa43 tyi2 škwa3 ?i1 o3 ni?2 ki?no3
W14·3 W23 W1·2 W1·1 W14·1 w04 W14·1 W1·1
P3 P11·1 P11·1
K11 C1
S21

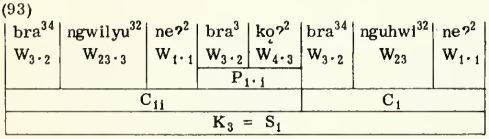
(91)



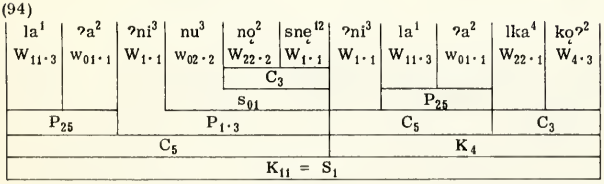
(92)



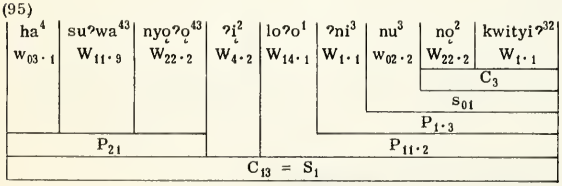
(93)



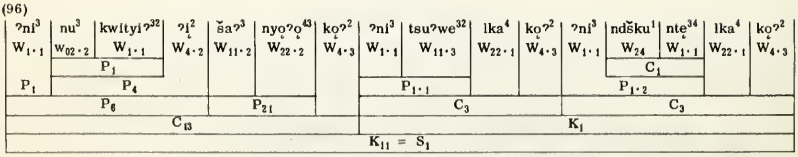
(94)



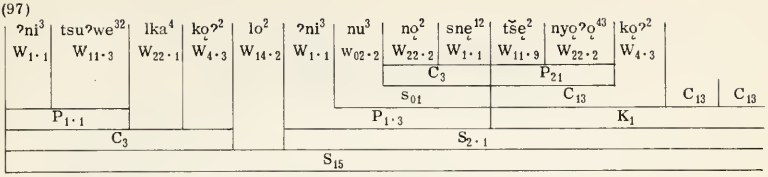
(95)

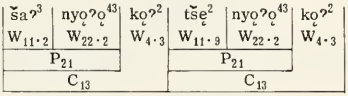


(96)

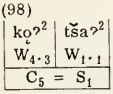


(97)

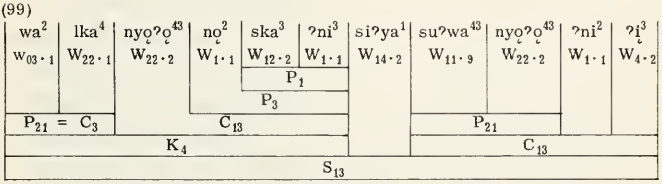

ʔni3 W1·1
tsuʔwe32 W11·3
lka4 W22·1
koˌʔ2 W4·3
lo2 W14·2
ʔni3 W1·1
nu3 W02·2
noˌ2 W22·2
sneˌ12 W1·1
tšeˌ2 W11·3
nyoˌʔoˌ43 W22·2
koˌʔ2 W4·3
C3
P21
s01
C13
C13
C13
P1·1
P1·3
K1
C3
S2·1
S15


šaʔ3 W11·2
nyoˌʔoˌ43 W22·2
koˌʔ2 W4·3
tšeˌ2 W11·3
nyoˌʔoˌ43 W22·2
koˌʔ2 W4·3
P21
P21
C13
C13

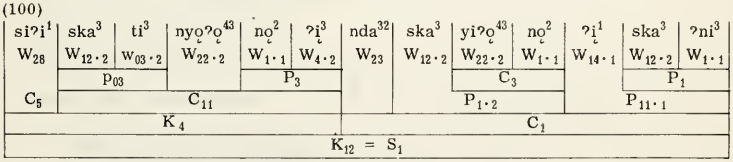
(98)


koˌʔ2 W4·3
tšaʔ2 W1·1
C5 = S1

(99)


wa2 w03·1
lka4 W22·1
nyoˌʔoˌ43 W22·2
noˌ2 W1·1
ska3 W12·2
ʔni3 W1·1
siʔya1 W14·2
suʔwa43 W11·9
nyoˌʔoˌ43 W22·2
ʔni2 W1·1
ʔiˌ3 W4·2
P1
P3
P21 = C3
C13
P21
K4
C13
S13

(100)


siʔiˌ1 W28
ska3 W12·2
ti3 W03·2
nyoˌʔoˌ43 W22·2
noˌ2 W1·1
ʔiˌ3 W4·2
nda32 W23
ska3 W12·2
yiʔoˌ43 W22·2
noˌ2 W1·1
ʔiˌ1 W14·1
ska3 W12·2
ʔni3 W1·1
P03
P3
C3
P1
C5
C11
P1·2
P11·1
K4
C1
K12 = S1

Appendices

Appendix A

KEY TO CONSTRUCTION TYPES AND CLASSES

WORDS

Noun Word hyperclass	W_0
Common Noun class	W_1
General subclass	$W_{1\cdot1}$
Simple General type	$W_{1\cdot1\cdot1}$
Multiple General type	$W_{1\cdot1\cdot2}$
Possessed subclass	$W_{1\cdot2}$
Obligatorily Possessed type	$W_{1\cdot2\cdot1}$
Innately Possessed type	$W_{1\cdot2\cdot2}$
Unpossessed subclass	$W_{1\cdot3}$
Locative subclass	$W_{1\cdot4}$
Classified subclass	$W_{1\cdot5}$
Proper Noun class	W_2
Personal Name subclass	$W_{2\cdot1}$
Vocative Term subclass	$W_{2\cdot2}$
Expandable Vocatives subclass	$W_{2\cdot3}$
Place Name subclass	$W_{2\cdot4}$
Temporal Noun class	W_3
General Temporal subclass	$W_{3\cdot1}$
Simple Temporal type	$W_{3\cdot1\cdot1}$
Multiple Temporal type	$W_{3\cdot1\cdot2}$
Subordinator Temporal subclass	$W_{3\cdot2}$
Pronoun class	W_4
Subject subclass	$W_{4\cdot1}$

Goal subclass . . . . . $W_{4\cdot2}$
Demonstrative subclass . . . . . $W_{4\cdot3}$

Particle Word hyperclass . . . . . W_{10}

Descriptive Particle class . . . . . W_{11}
Quantifier subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot1}$
Attributive subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot2}$
Characteristic subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot3}$
State subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot4}$
Colour subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot5}$
Adjective subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot6}$
Modifier subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot7}$
Adverb subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot8}$
Manner subclass . . . . . $W_{11\cdot9}$

Numerical Particle class . . . . . W_{12}
Base Numeral subclass . . . . . $W_{12\cdot1}$
Empiric Prime subclass . . . . . $W_{12\cdot2}$
Addition Numeral subclass . . . . . $W_{12\cdot3}$
Allotive Numeral subclass . . . . . $W_{12\cdot4}$
Derived Numeral subclass . . . . . $W_{12\cdot5}$

Temporal Particle class . . . . . W_{13}
Monomorphemic type . . . . . $W_{13\cdot0\cdot1}$
Complex type . . . . . $W_{13\cdot0\cdot2}$

Relator Particle class . . . . . W_{14}
Independent Preposition subclass . . . . . $W_{14\cdot1}$
Conjunction subclass . . . . . $W_{14\cdot2}$
Referent subclass . . . . . $W_{14\cdot3}$
Relative-Interrogative subclass . . . . . $W_{14\cdot4}$

Verb Word hyperclass . . . . . W_{20}

Referential Verb class . . . . . W_{21}
Differentiated Referential type . . . . . $W_{21\cdot0\cdot1}$
Undifferentiated Referential type . . . . . $W_{21\cdot0\cdot2}$

Equational Verb class . . . . . W_{22}
Permanent Equational subclass . . . . . $W_{22 \cdot 1}$
Temporary Equational subclass . . . . . $W_{22 \cdot 2}$
Quasi-Equational subclass . . . . . $W_{22 \cdot 3}$

Active Verb class . . . . . W_{23}
Unchanging Aspect type . . . . . $W_{23 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$
Changing Aspect type . . . . . $W_{23 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$
Different Aspect type . . . . . $W_{23 \cdot 0 \cdot 3}$

Reflexive Verb class . . . . . W_{24}
Undifferentiated Reflexive type . . . . . $W_{24 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$
Differentiated Reflexive type . . . . . $W_{24 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$

Auxiliary Verb class . . . . . W_{25}
Auxiliary Referential type . . . . . $W_{25 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$
Auxiliary Equational type . . . . . $W_{25 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$
Auxiliary Active type . . . . . $W_{25 \cdot 0 \cdot 3}$

Quotational Verb class . . . . . W_{26}

Emotional Head Verb class . . . . . W_{27}
Particle Head type . . . . . $W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 1}$
Basic type . . . . . $W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 2}$
Directed type . . . . . $W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 3}$
Differentiated type . . . . . $W_{27 \cdot 0 \cdot 4}$

Stative Verb class . . . . . W_{28}

Minor Word hyperclass . . . . . w_{00}

Augmentative class . . . . . w_{01}
Intensifier Augmentative subclass . . . . . $w_{01 \cdot 1}$
Comparison Augmentative subclass . . . . . $w_{01 \cdot 2}$

Classifier class . . . . . w_{02}
Noun Classifier subclass . . . . . $w_{02 \cdot 1}$
Deictic subclass . . . . . $w_{02 \cdot 2}$

Boundary class . . . . . w_{03}
Phrase-Initial Boundary subclass . . . . . $w_{03 \cdot 1}$

Phrase-Final Boundary subclass . . . . . $w_{03 \cdot 2}$
Directional Boundary subclass . . . . . $w_{03 \cdot 3}$
Sentence Boundary subclass . . . . . $w_{03 \cdot 4}$

Pronominal class . . . . . w_{04}

PHRASES

Noun Phrase class . . . . . P_0
Attributive Noun phrase . . . . . P_1
Quality Noun phrase . . . . . P_2
Possessive Noun phrase I . . . . . P_3
Possessive Noun phrase II . . . . . P_4
Addressee Noun phrase . . . . . P_5
Apposite Noun phrase . . . . . P_6

Prepositional Phrase class . . . . . P_{10}
Relational phrase . . . . . P_{11}
Prepositionally Directed phrase . . . . . P_{12}

Predicate Phrase class . . . . . P_{20}
Simple Predicate phrase . . . . . P_{21}
Qualified Predicate phrase . . . . . P_{22}
Affirmation Predicate phrase . . . . . P_{23}
Emotional Predicate phrase . . . . . P_{24}
Stative Predicate phrase . . . . . P_{25}
Auxiliary Predicate phrase . . . . . P_{26}

General Phrase class . . . . . P_{30}
Temporal phrase . . . . . P_{31}
Calendar phrase . . . . . P_{32}
Numerical phrase . . . . . P_{33}
Interrogative phrase . . . . . P_{34}

Minor Phrase class . . . . . p_{00}
Comparison minor phrase . . . . . p_{01}
Classifier minor phrase . . . . . p_{02}

Limited minor phrase . . . . . p_{03}
Negative minor phrase . . . . . p_{04}

CLAUSES

Basic Clause class . . . . . C_0
Basic Action clause . . . . . C_1
Basic Referential clause . . . . . C_2
Basic Equational clause . . . . . C_3
Reflexive clause . . . . . C_4
Stative clause . . . . . C_5

Directed Clause class . . . . . C_{10}
Directed Action clause . . . . . C_{11}
Directed Referential clause . . . . . C_{12}
Directed Equational clause . . . . . C_{13}

Symbiotic Clause class . . . . . C_{20}
Speech clause . . . . . C_{21}
Affirmation clause . . . . . C_{22}

Subordinate Clause class . . . . . C_{30}
Temporal Subordinate clause . . . . . C_{31}

Minor Clause class . . . . . c_{00}
Basic Action minor clause . . . . . c_{01}
Directed Action minor clause . . . . . c_{02}
Basic Referential minor clause . . . . . c_{03}
Numeral Referential minor clause . . . . . c_{04}

COLONS

Simple Colon class . . . . . K_0
Statement-Statement colon . . . . . K_1
Activity-Instigation colon . . . . . K_2
Antecedent-Consequent colon . . . . . K_3

Predication-Development colon . . . . . K_4
Thesis-Antithesis colon . . . . . K_5

Complex Colon class . . . . . K_{10}
Axiom-Elaboration colon . . . . . K_{11}
Situation-Result colon . . . . . K_{12}
Initiation-Sequel colon . . . . . K_{13}

SENTENCES

Simple Sentence class . . . . . S_0
Primary sentence . . . . . S_1
Descriptive sentence . . . . . S_2

Hinge Sentence class . . . . . S_{10}
Purpose sentence . . . . . S_{11}
Reason sentence . . . . . S_{12}
Cause sentence . . . . . S_{13}
Condition sentence . . . . . S_{14}
Balance sentence . . . . . S_{15}

Symbiotic Sentence class . . . . . S_{20}
Comment sentence . . . . . S_{21}
Alternative sentence . . . . . S_{22}
Interrogative sentence . . . . . S_{23}
Inquiry sentence . . . . . S_{24}

Quotation Sentence class . . . . . S_{30}
Address sentence . . . . . S_{31}
Quotative sentence . . . . . S_{32}

Minor Sentence class . . . . . s_{00}
Relative minor sentence . . . . . s_{01}

Appendix B

KEY TO TAGMEME SYMBOLS

Phrase Tagmemes:

Ad	Addressee
Adj	Adjectival
Adv	Adverbial
AH	Head to the Auxiliar
An	Addition
App	Apposition
APrH	Affirmed Predicate Head
Att	Attribution
aug	Augmentation
Aux	Auxiliar
cer	Certainty
Ch	Character
cl	Classification
Col	Colouration
Com	Concomitant
cp	Completion
Cpr	Completor
CR	Calendar Relational
cve	Comparative
deg	Degree
dei	Deictic
Dem	Demonstration
Des	Description
Desg	Designation
Det	Determinator
dp	Director Preposition
EH	Emotional Head
ev	Emotional Verbaliser
H	Head
IPH	Innately Possessed Head
ItgC	Interrogative Completor
ItgH	Interrogative Head
LH	Limited Head
li	Limitation
Mod	Modification
n	Negation
Nc	Numeric
ncp	Negation-Completion
NegH	Negated Head
NoH	Nominal Head
Num	Number
Own	Owner
PH	Possessed Head
PI	Possession Indicator
Por	Possessor
PrH	Predicate Head
Q	Quality
QH	Quality Head
Qn	Qualification
QPrH	Qualified Predicate Head
QrH	Qualifier Head
Qua	Quantity
Rel	Relator
SH	Stative Head
Sp	Specifier
Spe	Specification
SpNm	Specifying Number

St	Status	TH	Temporal Head
sve	Superlative	TopH	Topic Head

Clause Tagmemes:

A	Action	NRA	Numeral Referential Action
AA	Affirmative Action		
Acc	Accompaniment	O	Object
Axs	Axis	PnS	Pronominal Subject
B	Boundary	POb	Possessed Object
Cop	Complement	QM	Quotation Mark
DA	Directed Action	R	Reference
DE	Directed Equation	RA	Referred Action
DR	Directed Referential	Re	Receptor
E	Equation	RefA	Reflexive Action
EG	Equational Goal	RN	Reference Number
ES	Equational Subject	S	Subject
G	Goal	Sbr	Subordinator
GE	Goal Expansion	SE	Subject Expansion
IO	Indirect Object	Sk	Speaker
Ins	Instrument	SN	Subject Number
L	Location	SPr	Stative Predicate
M	Manner	T	Time

Colon Tagmemes:

Act	Activity	Inst	Instigation
Ant	Antecedent	Pred	Predication
Athe	Antithesis	Res	Result
Ax	Axiom	Seq	Sequel
Cons	Consequent	Sit	Situation
Dev	Development	Sta	Statement
Elb	Elaboration	The	Thesis
Init	Initiation		

Sentence Tagmemes:

Ads	Address	J	Junction
Alt	Alternate	Out	Outcome
AR	Alternative Reference	PHi	Purpose Hinge
Bal	Balance	Prop	Proposition
Bald	Balanced	Pur	Purposive
BHi	Balance Hinge	qmr	Question Marker
Cau	Cause	QSt	Question Statement
CHi	Cause Hinge	QT	Quotation Termination
CnHi	Condition Hinge	Quot	Quotation
Comt	Comment	Rea	Reason
Cond	Condition	RHi	Reason Hinge
Epn	Expression	SAd	Subject Addressed
ER	Emphatic Reference	Set	Setting
Exn	Explanation	Sub	Substance
F	Focus	Sug	Suggestion
Inj	Injunction	Term	Terminator
IS	Inquiry Statement	Top	Topic
Itg	Interrogation	VAd	Vocative Address
Itr	Introducer		

Appendix C

A NOTE ON PHONOLOGICAL WORDS

A phonological word consists of one or more syllables with word stress always occurring on the ultimate syllable. In bisyllabic or trisyllabic words the syllables preceding the stress are voiceless and/or accelerated, accentuating the Chatino trend towards using only monosyllabic words. Trisyllabic words are very unusual. Small Chatino children learning to talk usually begin by using only stressed syllables, and omitting the voiceless and accelerated syllables as well as consonants at the beginning of a word-initial consonant cluster. Thus wa^{2} ngi?o̤^{32} 'completive am-going-I' (I am definitely going) becomes wa^{2} ?o̤^{32} for small children, and similarly kyha^{3} 'tortilla' becomes ha^{3}, and tš̆kwo̤^{43} 'metal, tin' becomes kwo̤^{43}.

One category of grammatical words which are not coterminus with phonological words are words of more than one syllable borrowed from Spanish. These are conformed to the Chatino phonological word patterns in various ways apart from phoneme changes. The stress may be shifted to the ultimate syllable and the initial syllables become voiceless, accelerated, or contracted to a consonant cluster as when panela 'brown sugar' becomes pnela^{4}, semana 'week' becomes smno̤^{34}, machete 'jungle knife' becomes wš̆tyi^{3}. The original Spanish word may become two Chatino words splitting between the stressed syllable and the syllables following, i.e., a phonological phrase, as when tienda 'shop' becomes tiye̤ ta^{4}, septiembre 'September' becomes sptiye̤ mbre^{4}, culantro 'coriander' becomes kula ntru^{4}. Such a phonological phrase comprises a single morpheme and is considered to be a single syntactic word in this paper.

Bibliography

Longacre, R. E.
1960 String constituent analysis. Language 36:63-88.

McKaughan, Howard P.
1954 Chatino formulas and phonemes. International Journal of American Linguistics 20:23-7.

Pickett, Velma B.
1960 The grammatical hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec. Language Dissertation no. 56. Language 36 (Part 2).

Pike, Kenneth L.
1954 Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Preliminary edition. Part I. Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
(1955 Part II.)
(1960 Part III.)

Pride, Kitty
1961 Numerals in Chatino. Anthropological Linguistics 3:1-10.

Pride, Leslie
1963 Chatino tonal structure. Anthropological Linguistics 5:19-28.

Upson, B. W.
1958 A brief ethnographic sketch of the Chatino Indians. Unpublished manuscript. Indiana University.

Upson, Jessamine
1956 Some Chatino riddles analyzed. International Journal of American Linguistics 22:113-16.

1960 A preliminary structure of Chatino. Anthropological Linguistics 2:22-29.

se terminó de imprimir este libro
el día 31 de julio de 1965
en la
Casa de Publicaciones en Cien Lenguas
MAESTRO MOISES SAENZ
del
Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A. C.
Hidalgo 166, México 22, D. F.

ıe

408.2
5955
no.12
c.2

PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS
AND RELATED FIELDS

Summer Institute of Linguistics
of the
University of C

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
3 1262 05223 9869

1. Elliott Canonge, Comanche
$1.00.
2. Marvin Mayers, Pocomchí Texts with Grammatical Notes (149 pp., 1958) $1.00.
3. Anne Dyk, Mixteco Texts (248 pp., 1959) $1.00.
4. Eugene A. Nida, A Synopsis of English Syntax (306 pp., 1960) $1.50.
5. W. Cameron Townsend and others, Mayan Studies I (170 pp., 1961) $1.50.
6. Lawrence Clark, Sayula Popoluca Texts (216 pp., 1961) $1.50.
7. Catherine Peeke and others, Studies in Ecuadorian Indian Languages: I (292 pp., 1962) $1.75.
8. John Chapman Crawford, Totontepec Mixe Phonotagmemics (197 pp., 1963) $1.75.
9. Studies in Peruvian Indian Languages: I (220 pp., 1963) $1.75.
10. Verb Studies in Five New Guinea Languages (182 pp., 1964) $1.75.
11. George M. Cowan, Some Aspects of the Lexical Structure of a Mazatec Historical Text (145 pp., 1965) $1.75.
12. Kitty Pride, Chatino Syntax (249 pp., 1965) $1.75.

Additional copies may be obtained for the prices indicated plus $.35 mailing charge from:

UNIVERSITY BOOK EXCHANGE
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Bookstore and bulk orders should be sent to:
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
Box 1960
Santa Ana, California

yhnujmik,ol.pe-ψαζ"σξεδχρφωτγβ** °

ηνυθμικ,ολ.π¯-ЫАЦВСЗЕДЧРФЖТГБ

¯HNYΘMIK;OΛ·Π'!ЫАЦВСЗЕДЧРФЖТГБ

"ΙΘΩ ΔΘ ΘΘΩΩ, Φ-

ΔΛΔΔΔΥΔ▷ · ·"